

Nazi Diplomats in Bonn's Service

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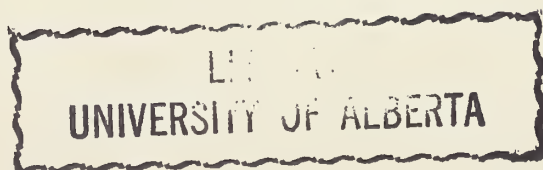
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Nazi Diplomats in Bonn's Service

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Preface

This documentation is meant to be a warning. It directs the attention of international public opinion once again to the scandalous fact that high positions in the West German Foreign Service—in fact, many of the highest—are occupied by people who participated in deciding, preparing and carrying through those unprecedented crimes with which the Hitler government, and those circles of German heavy industry and German high finance who stood behind it, wanted to subjugate Europe and the whole world.

The facts in this documentation about the share of the nazi diplomats and officials of the fascist Reich government—some of whom were seriously incriminated—in conceiving, formulating and implementing foreign policy measures of the present West German government is alarming from a number of viewpoints.

Specialists of the Hitler regime in working out and carrying through aggressive aims and organizing acts of plunder in invaded European countries are today concentrated in the Foreign Office and in the diplomatic missions of the Federal Republic abroad. That is only one example of the systematic packing of the West German state apparatus with more or less incriminated officials of the Hitler regime and the nazi party. Two thousand three hundred persons who were in policy-making positions in the nazi regime today hold key positions in the public life of the Federal Republic and in the West German economy. This fact is a cynical mockery of the innumerable sacrifices made by the nations of Europe in the Second World War to destroy the scourge of mankind—German fascism—forever. At the same time, however, it represents a growing threat to peace and international security. The concentration of incriminated nazis in decisive positions of political and economic power in West Germany, which has been systematically encouraged since the setting up of the Federal Republic, creates the essential prerequisite for the ever more rapid renazification of public life in the Federal Republic. The participation of the old nazis in the various West German state organs, in the CDU/CSU, and in the other political parties represented in the Bundestag, the economy, the educational system, and also in the

West German army, has prepared the way for the neo-nazi NPD. That accounts for the alarming fact that the party of Adolf von Thadden, which openly adheres to the aims and programmatic principles of the NSDAP (nazi party), can work its way unhindered to Bonn, to the West German Bundestag.

The menace of the new nazism which is raising its head today in West Germany stems from its deep and widely spread roots. The rejection of the Potsdam Agreement, and the blocking of democratization in the economy and political life of West Germany that followed, made possible the rise of West Germany as the main obstacle to European security. Ruling circles in the West German Federal Republic continue to be obsessed by the adventurist dream of reversing the defeat in the Second World war and its historical results, and subjugating Europe once more under their hegemony. They refuse to recognize the German Democratic Republic, the Socialist state of German nation, or to give up their illusionary claim to be the sole spokesman of the German people, although everyone knows that any attempt by West German imperialism to cross the border on the Elbe and Werra and to extend its rule to the Oder would receive an annihilating answer from the community of Socialist states. They pursue a policy of annexation with regard to the independent political entity of West Berlin that is in many ways reminiscent of the policy of German fascism towards the Free City of Danzig. It will be recalled that the latter played an important part in the Third Reich's preparation of its war of aggression against its eastern neighbour. Under the slogan, "Overcoming the *status quo*," the ruling circles in West Germany at the same time reject the Oder-Neisse border. With regard to Czechoslovakia, they seek to draw "legal precedents" from the dictated Munich Agreement of 1938, rejecting the claim that it was null and void *ab initio*. In the interests of the new version of the "new order in the East" for which they strive, they seek a dominating position over the states of Western and Northern Europe, using the economic power of the Federal Republic as a blatant instrument of political blackmail to achieve this end.

They believe they can also use the economic power of the Federal Republic and its influential positions in NATO and the Common Market as means with which to exert pressure to gain control over nuclear weapons.

This policy employs new tactical methods and means. But in its essence it follows in the footsteps of the European policy of the Hitler government. It has exactly the same "integrated great area" as its aim, which is to open up a "suitable field of action" for the expansionist drive of the West German concerns and banks. For such a policy, the specialists in aggression and the bureaucrats of death from the Reich Foreign Office and other institutions of the fascist Reich administration and the NSDAP are just as indispensable as the new nazi party, the NPD. In this clear connection between the aggressive nature of West Germany's foreign policy and the emphasis on using incriminated nazi officials to carry out that policy lies the real danger to which this documentation draws attention. Along with the nazi diplomats of the Wilhelmstrasse, the Foreign Ministry in Bonn has taken

over the spirit of nazism and the German great-power policy of aggression.

That is in no way changed by the fact that in the person of Willy Brandt, in December 1966, a Social Democrat minister for the first time took over the direction of the Foreign Service of the Federal Republic. Willy Brandt and the leaders of West German Social Democracy have neither broken with the disastrous tradition of aggressive great-power chauvinism taken over from the past nor with the proponents of this tradition from the offices of the fascist Foreign Office, the foreign diplomatic missions of the Third Reich, and the other administrative centres of the nazi state.

The policy of the big German monopolies with regard to "the new order" in Europe, which the West German government obviously intends to pursue with its program of changing the *status quo*, has already brought a devastating war upon the world. Nobody who makes himself familiar with the facts in the accompanying documentation should forget that.

Bonn Diplomats Willing Tools of Fascism

The Reich Foreign Office headed by Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop occupied a strategic position in the system of planning, preparing and carrying out the policy of aggression of the German fascist state. Von Ribbentrop was sentenced to death at Nuremberg.

Not only were the plans for achieving the domination of fascist, German imperialism in Europe and the rest of the world worked out in detail with the collaboration of the Reich Foreign Office; the Ministry also took part on a policy level in preparing the aggression against Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Great Britain, France, Denmark, Norway, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Belgium, Yugoslavia, Greece, the USSR.

The Reich Foreign Ministry further belonged—alongside the Reich Main Security Office (RSHA)—to the state organs of the fascist German Reich which planned and helped carry through the “final solution of the Jewish question”. Thus, the fascist Foreign Office, by taking part in the preparation of the infamous Wannsee Conference of 1 January 1942 on the “final solution of the European Jewish Question”, set out the landmarks for the action launched by the nazis to murder millions of Jews.

In close collaboration with the murderer of Jews, Adolf Eichmann, the Foreign Office helped with the deportation of Jews from France, Hungary and other countries. In the judgment against von Weizsäcker and accomplices (the Wilhelmstrasse trial), it is declared that

“the Foreign Office played an important role in these atrocities. Through the Foreign Office, the agreements were made under which the Vichy regime in France and the governments of Hungary, Slovakia, Bulgaria, Rumania and Croatia agreed to the deportation of Jews from their countries. Such agreement was not necessary in occupied France, in the Netherlands, Poland, the Baltic states, in Denmark and the occupied Russian territories. There the Jews were simply seized and sent to their deaths. But even in these countries the Foreign Office played an important role. One of its tasks was to bury in silence the protests or questions of other

countries, to soothe them or to answer them with subterfuge and often with lies.” (The judgment in the Wilhelmstrasse trial, Schwäbisch-Gmünd, 1950, p. 82)

Alongside the physical annihilation of the Jews and the destruction of members of other ethnic groups in the occupied territories, measures for plundering the areas during the fascist occupation were introduced under the direction of the Reich Foreign Office. The nazis attempted to break resistance to the fascist occupation with unprecedented terror against the civilian population. The extent to which the Foreign Office helped prepare and organize this crime is revealed in a written communication that the then German consul in Algeria, Auer (West German ambassador in Ceylon until 1964), sent to the Foreign Office in Wilhelmstrasse in 1942. Among other things it stated:

“The military victory over France still has to be completed by the moral subjugation of the French in the occupied area. Only through such coercive measures would the anti-German attitude . . . turn to fear. The French authorities would have to accept the attitude of the defeated. And thus would the necessary respect for the demands and directives of the German authorities . . . be achieved.”

(*German Central Archives, Potsdam, Foreign Office Files, No. 61134*)

The threadbare and lying claims of nazi propaganda that the German minorities abroad were being suppressed, that they were being denied the right of self-determination, served the fascist state as a pretext and “justification” for its attacks on other states with the slogan, “Home to the Reich.” The fascist Foreign Office had the task, in this, of providing safeguards abroad for the aggressive policy of German imperialism and to dress it up as a “policy of peace”.

When the attempt is made today from the West German side to deny the complicity of the diplomats in the crimes of the fascists, or to make it appear harmless, and when today leading officials of the Bonn Foreign Ministry stand up and claim they knew nothing of the crimes perpetrated by the nazis, then these claims are clearly refuted by the facts. The facts show

that the Reich Foreign Office, its departments, sections and officials worked closely with the Gestapo, the SD (security service), the Wehrmacht command, the directorate of the NSDAP (nazi party), and its branches.

The fascist Foreign Office received internal reports on the course of the war, on the measures being taken or already taken for the plundering and subjugation of the population in the occupied territories, on the illegal use of prisoners of war and deportees in German armament plants, among other things. Representatives of the Gestapo and the SD were present both in the Foreign Office and in the diplomatic missions abroad. They were informed in detail about the plans of aggression, in terms of personnel as well as the material side, and shared responsibility for the coordination of the fascist plans of conquest.

In a correct assessment of this situation, the Nuremberg trial of the major war criminals and the cases that followed under the name of the Wilhelmstrasse trials against major war criminals, also in Nuremberg, denounced the criminal contracts of the Foreign Office and the activity of the overwhelming majority of the nazi diplomats.

The diplomats brought before the court were accused "of having taken part in the preparation, the starting and conduct of wars of aggression and wars violating international agreements, contracts and pledges." (Judgment in the Wilhelmstrasse trial, Schwäbisch-Gmünd, 1950, p. 6)

In the investigation of the war crimes of the 21 accused, including eight diplomats of the nazi Foreign Office, the court was guided by the fact that

"the planning, preparation, starting or leadership of the wars of aggression, along with the terror, suffering and losses associated with them," is a crime "that merits the heaviest penalty." (op. cit., p. 16)

The judgment in the Wilhelmstrasse trial decisively rejected the attempts of the accused to deny their individual crimes and to limit the criminal activity of the Foreign Office to Ribbentrop and a small group of incriminated people.

On this point the judges declared:

"The only argument for the view that those responsible should go free, but that the innocent masses must suffer, is based on the old legal saying that 'the king can do no wrong', and that 'war is the sport of kings . . .' We reject this point of view and consider everyone who plans, prepares, begins and carries through wars of aggression and invasions, everyone who consciously, knowingly and deliberately takes part in such actions, to be guilty of crimes against international law who must be brought before the courts, judged and punished." (Op. cit., p. 5)

In order to circumvent the justified charge that they had supported the insane Hitler policy up to the very last moment, a number of nazi diplomats claimed to have offered active or passive resistance to the foreign

policy of the Third Reich. Nothing, however, is more hypocritical, more deceitful than such claims! In the files of the fascist Foreign Office and of other authorities of the nazi state there is not a single discernible case in which the Foreign Office or groups of officials had prevented any crimes.

The claim that only the nazi diplomats in the "Deutschland Department", responsible to the SS and the SA, and the "SA envoys" had done the "dirty work" does not bear investigation.

Almost all departments, foreign missions and diplomats of the Foreign Office in the Wilhelmstrasse were either responsible as direct instigators of serious crimes of the Hitler regime or as accomplices to such crimes. In this connection it is noteworthy that the Ribbentrop diplomats—in crass contradiction to their statements before the Nuremberg court and in the trials that followed—which they had agreed upon and pieced together beforehand—actually belonged to the best-informed officials of the fascist system. They were most decidedly in a position to see the entire scope of their criminal activities, as was established in the Wilhelmstrasse trials. The judgment in the latter case says of the accused Ribbentrop diplomats that they were

"experienced in the evaluation of political developments and in the investigation of the grounds for the measures of parties, officials and whole nations. They are masters of the art of reading between the lines of seemingly harmless writings in mild language, and of recognizing their actual significance through the text." (Nuremberg Trials, Case XI, vol. CCXL 11, p. 27,829)

This knowledge in no way prevented the nazi diplomats from using all their energies and abilities for the nazi regime and its criminal aims. There are, on the contrary, numerous examples of how the officials of the fascist Foreign Office and the diplomats of the Third Reich, on their own initiative, carried out the plans and aims of the Reich Main Security Office, of the high command of the Wehrmacht and of other agencies of the nazi regime, even more maliciously and more brutally. The diplomats and officials who after 1949 were once again granted office and prestige in the West German Federal Republic are no exception to this. Thus, it must be stated that in addition to the responsibility borne by the Ribbentrop Ministry as an institution for the planning and carrying out of the serious international crimes of the nazi regime, the majority of the nazi diplomats and officials who have been returned to high office—including the highest—in the Foreign Service by the West German government, incurred direct personal guilt within the framework of their former sphere of work or as close and trusted collaborators of seriously incriminated nazi war criminals.

The examples given later of the activity of West German diplomats and officials of the Foreign Office

in a series of the most important departments of the nazi Foreign Office emphasize the justification for this declaration.

The Role of the Foreign Office in Hitler's Policy of Aggression

The Political Department

The Political Department with its heads of section under the direction of Deputy State Secretary von Woermann (up to 1934) and Andor Henke shared responsibility for the preparation of aggression against a number of European states and for its pseudo-legal justification. They played the leading role in the collaboration with the OKW (high command of the Wehrmacht) and the espionage organization of the OKW, the Bureau for Foreign Counter-intelligence (Canaris).

The Foreign Office, it can be shown, was in the autumn of 1937 already informed about the planned annexations of Hitler Germany and participated directly in the preparation of aggressive acts.

On 5 November 1937 the then Foreign Minister Konstantin von Neurath was invited to a meeting with Hitler along with Göring, Raeder, General von Blomberg and General von Fritsch. At this meeting Hitler elaborated his future foreign policy conception. According to the so-called Hossbach minutes this anticipated

"the solution of the German question of living-space by 1943–45 at the latest . . . For the improvement of our military-political situation, our first aim must in any case be the defeat of Czechoslovakia and Austria in a warlike development, in order to remove the threat to our flank in the event of a move against the West."

While the Wilhelmstrasse diplomats were generous with their protestations abroad that they were for peace, in order to mislead and deceive world public opinion, the officials of the Political Department at the same time were working out detailed plans for the invasion of European countries together with the OKW.

The close collaboration between the diplomats and the military in the preparation of aggression against the European peoples is clear from a declaration of Deputy State Secretary Gaus, the head of the Legal Department, in which it is stated:

"In the months preceding the attack on 5 May 1940 on Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg, it was generally known among the leading officials of the German Foreign Office, to which myself, Weizsäcker and Woermann belonged, that this attack was planned.

This knowledge emerged from the developments outlined below, which were spread over the period from late autumn 1939 until the day of the invasion . . .

"In the Foreign Office it was generally known from the autumn of 1939 until into the winter months that German troops in great force were concentrated on the borders of Holland and Belgium . . .

"During the whole period of the invasion, the Foreign Office was in the closest contact with the military authorities. Heyden-Rynsch, the liaison man between the Foreign Office and the OKW, reported to State Secretary von Weizsäcker regularly. I often saw him in Weizsäcker's office and knew that he worked most intimately with the OKW." (Trials of war criminals before the Nuremberg Military Tribunals under Control Council Law No. 10, Vol. XII. Nuremberg, October 1946–April 1949, pp. 1177–1178)

This close collaboration was supplemented from the side of the Foreign Office by the latter putting its diplomatic facilities at the service of fascist espionage. It thus gave the Hitler regime, contrary to all international law, further possibilities of preparing and carrying through its criminal aims.

A number of leading West German diplomats were members of the staff of the Political Department or were privy to its machinations through their activity. These include:

- The present ambassador of the Federal Republic to India,
Baron Dietrich von Mirbach
personal representative of State Secretary von Steengracht, who was responsible for the work of the Political Department from 1943 on. During this activity, von Mirbach belonged to the diplomats who were best informed about the criminal actions of the nazi leadership.
- The present West German consul general in Geneva
Dr. Rupprecht von Keller
member of the Political Department staff from November 1938 until May 1945, worked under Deputy State Secretary Woermann, one of Ribbentrop's confidants.
(NT, Case XI, 5938)
- The present West German ambassador in Athens
Dr. Oskar Schlitter,
was head of section (Referent) in section Pol. II, took part in the secret talks for the preparation of aggression against Denmark and was not only informed about them but took an active part in them.
- The present Ministerialdirigent¹⁾ and deputy chief of the Cultural Department of the Foreign Office in Bonn
Ministerialdirigent Karl Kuno Overbeck
was named legation counsellor in 1944 for his

¹⁾ Cf. list of Civil Service grades at the end of this volume.

services in section Pol. I M in the field of espionage and in collaboration with the OKW.

- The present ambassador of the Federal Republic in Buenos Aires
Dr. Ernest Günther Mohr
was named legation counsellor first class and made chief of special section Pol. 1 M for his services. He was responsible with the attaché department of the OKW for the assignment of military attachés and also wrote the language directives for them on the military situation.

Other members of this department were:

- the present Ministerialdirektor and chief of the personnel department in the Foreign Office in Bonn
Dr. Georg Federer
- the West German ambassador to Ecuador
Count Georg von Pappenheim
- the West German ambassador to Kenya
Dr. Hans Ulrich von Schweinitz

The Legal Department

The Legal Department of the nazi Foreign Office primarily had the task of working out a pseudo-legal justification for the fascist crimes and chaining other states to the policies of the Third Reich with the help of pacts forced on them.

A series of documents show the participation of this ministry in the preparation and justification of aggressions. Thus, for example, in the preparation of the invasion of Poland, a legal judgment was worked out by the Legal Department on the "legal situation with regard to Poland" that attempted to legitimize the predatory aims of German imperialism in international law.

In collaboration with department L of the OKW by 1 October 1938 a list of anticipated violations of international law in future wars was worked out and the legal justification that was to be made in each case was prepared and put on file.

These included, among other things:

The bombing of non-military targets;

The bombing of extra-territorial areas and buildings;

The killing or wounding of subjects of neutral states outside the battle zones;

The bombing of hospitals, churches and cultural monuments.

Within the framework of the fascist wars of aggression, the Legal Department of the Reich Foreign Ministry shared in a series of crimes of the Hitler clique.

Documents show in this connection:

When for some time the routine communications to Holland about the death of Dutch Jews in German concentration camps roused attention because of the numbers involved, Sweden protested as Holland's diplomatic representative and pressed for an investigation. The Legal Department of the Reich Foreign

Ministry handled the matter and looked for ways of explaining it away. The solution found in the end was that further communications on the matter were prohibited, on the proposal of the Legal Department, and this led to a cessation of the Swedish protests.

A further example:

In order to advance "the final solution of the Jewish question", the Legal Department worked out legal opinions on how the states of the anti-Comintern pact which in part resisted the Jewish policy of the Third Reich could be forced to accept it. The present West German retired Consul-General Dr. Gerhard Stahlberg participated in this crime.

Other members of the Legal Department were:

- Dr. Hans-Christian Halter
West German embassy counsellor first class in Argentina
- Dr. Herbert Kuhle
legation counsellor first class in the Bonn Foreign Office
- Dr. Herbert Ruoff
West German embassy counsellor in Canberra
- Dr. Günther Scholl
West German ambassador in Rawalpindi

The Commercial Department

The Commercial Department analyzed the economic situation. On the basis of an evaluation of the secret materials it received, it worked out conclusions for Hitler Germany's foreign policy. It was most emphatically involved in organizing the criminal plundering of the invaded countries and the vassal states of Hitler Germany.

The legal basis for robbing these states was laid down by the so-called Commercial Policy Commission, among others. This commission showed the close interweaving of the Foreign Office and the other organs of nazi rule, as well as the concrete responsibility of the Hitlerite diplomats for the plundering of many European states during the war.

In the minutes of the commission—as is made clear in the following document, among others—the names of men who are again today leading West German diplomats prominently appear:

"WHA 806

top secret!

"In oral and written communication with private persons, the Commercial Policy Commission is not to be mentioned and its decisions should not be referred to.

"Meeting of the Commercial Policy Commission on 29 July 1941. No. 26.

Foreign Office: Ministerialdirektor Wiehl
Reporting Legation Counsellor
Dumont

	Reporting Legation Counsellor Sabath
	Legation Secretary Schwarzmann
Representative for the Four Year Plan	Min. Dir. Tischbein Oberstintendant ¹⁾ Teichert
High Command of the Wehrmacht Wi-Rü-Amt	Major-General Becker
High Command of the Wehrmacht Wehrmacht Administration	Regierungsrat Grams
Reich Economics Ministry	Min. Rat Schultze-Schlutius Reg. Rat Dr. Joerges"

At the meeting at which these minutes were made, and at which representatives of the Reichsbank and the Finance Ministry also took part, the question under discussion was the theft of Polish money banked in France. As a "specialist for French questions", Dr. Hans Schwarzmann, who is today chief of the Bonn protocol department, played an active role.

Along with Schwarzmann, the following names appear in minutes and documents of the Commercial Department and the Commercial Policy Commission:

- Dr. Oskar Schlitter
ambassador of the Federal Republic in Athens
participated in the plundering of France and Italy
- Dr. Hans Georg Sachs
ambassador of the Federal Republic at the EEC and European Atomic Community in Brussels
- Dr. Friedrich Pfisterer
section head in department Z section ZA 4 in the personnel department in Bonn
- Dr. Wilhelm Otto Denzer, consul first class
head of the West German consulate in Houston, Texas.

The Cultural Department

The task of the Cultural Department of the nazi Foreign Office under the direction of Envoy and SS Brigadeführer²⁾ Dr. Six (before 1943, von Twadowski) was primarily the "spreading of German culture and the furtherance of Germandom" in such a way as to mislead other states and international public opinion about the true aims of Hitler Germany, to persuade them of the alleged justification of the annexationist demands of the fascist Reich government, and to

¹⁾ Commissary with the rank of colonel

²⁾ Cf. list of grades in the SS and Wehrmacht at the end of this volume.

cripple their resistance to the policy of aggression of the Third Reich. In this connection a special role was played by the question of national identity and the right of self-determination. One needs only to direct attention to the shameless hypocrisy of the diplomats in preparing the occupation of the Memel area, the aggression against Czechoslovakia and the attack on Poland.

On 29 March 1938 there was a "meeting on the Sudeten German question" in the Foreign Office under the direction of Ribbentrop. Among those present were Erich Kordt, later to become a West German government official, then chief of the office of the Reich Foreign Minister; von Twadowski, at present president of the Ibero-American Association in the Federal Republic, then head of the Cultural Department; Dr. Günter Altenburg, today representative of the West German monopolies in the International Chamber of Commerce, then head of the Information Department. Ribbentrop laid before them a detailed plan on how the annexation of the then Sudeten areas was to be carried out under the pretext of "defence of the right of self-determination". (Document No. 2,788-PS. International Military Tribunal Nuremberg)

With cynical frankness, the connection between aggression, and the manipulation of the demand for "self-determination" for purposes of concealing aggression, is laid bare in an internal report of the Foreign Ministry dated 22 August 1938. The document states:

"After the liquidation of the Czech question, Poland is next, it is generally assumed. The later this assumption becomes a reality of international politics, the better. It is important in this sense to continue for the time being such current and tested slogans as the right of self-determination and folk community. Anything else could be used to accuse us of pure imperialism..." (Der Prozess gegen..., op. cit. Vol. XXXIX, p. 98 ff)

The varied propagation of "current and tested slogans", named here, and of others, which were designed to fool the rest of the world about the aggressive plans of the Hitler government, were precisely the measures to which the Ribbentrop diplomats Kordt, Twadowski and Altenburg, as well as the other officials of the Cultural Department, zealously devoted themselves, as numerous documents prove.

In this connection it should be emphasized that the work with the fifth columns in other countries was under the responsibility of this department. In this field it worked in close collaboration with the leading organs of the SS and with the "Deutschland" Department within the Foreign Office.

Within the framework of the nazi national policy, the Reich Foreign Ministry during the war organized the recruiting of "Volksdeutsche" (persons of German origin who were citizens of other countries) collabora-

tors in the units of the Hitler armies of aggression in the territories occupied by the fascist troops.

The officials working under the "Deutschland" Department on the "national" question in the different countries recruited "Volksdeutsche volunteers" for the Waffen-SS. This was done, for example, in Denmark by Dr. Rolf Kassler, who is today an embassy counselor first class, and by Dr. Ewald Lanwer, who was then consul at Abenra, Denmark, and is today embassy counsellor, first class in the West German mission at the OECD in Paris.

In addition to those already named this department included, among others:

- Dr. Ernst Achenbach
today West German delegate to the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe
- Dr. Horst-Jürgen Becker
West German consul first class in the consulate general in Johannesburg
- Dr. Erwin Wickert
West German envoy in the embassy in London
- Rudolf von Wistinghausen
West German ambassador in Lome, Togo

The Political Broadcasting Department

The leaders of the nazi party very early recognized the significance of radio for carrying on psychological warfare. From the first day of their rule they considered the radio system and all its associated facilities as one of the most important instruments for the strengthening and broadening of their power, as well as for the carrying out of their far-reaching plans of conquest.

In the years in which the nazi aggression was being prepared, the foreign political radio propaganda had the assignment of juggling things so as to make it appear that German imperialism desired peace and to conceal the feverish rearming. At the same time it was supposed to undermine the will to resist of the nations marked for conquest by the nazi dictatorship by special ideological subversion. After the beginning of the Second World War, the Grossdeutsche Rundfunk (broadcasting system), together with all broadcasting stations in the countries occupied during the course of the war, became the most significant instrument of nazi foreign propaganda, as well of the psychological warfare. This trend was strengthened as the possibilities of working with the mass media in other countries, for example the press, were increasingly reduced. The then head of the department of the Deutsche Kurzwellensender (short wave station), Herbert Schröder, who has been brought back into the diplomatic service, wrote in 1940:

"To the fields of battle on water, on land and in the air a fourth field of battle has been added in this struggle: the ether front!"

(H. Schröder, Ein Sender erobert die Herzen der

Welt (A Broadcasting Station Conquers the Heart of the World), Essen, 1940, p. 12)

The body responsible for building up this "foreign front in the ether" was the Political Broadcasting Department of the Foreign Ministry. For that purpose, this department was manned by persons whose trustworthiness and competence led the nazi leadership to expect great things from them.

As the radio talks and "language directives" show, these expectations were not disappointed. The officials of the Political Broadcasting Department, the careers of the majority of whom after 1945 advanced rapidly reveal themselves in these documents as enthusiastic and devoted pupils of nazi Reich Propaganda Minister Dr. Joseph Goebbels.

Under the leadership of SS-Oberführer Rühle, the Broadcasting Department became the leading agency for ideological diversion. Dr. Franz Ferring, for example –then legation secretary, and now ambassador in Seoul–worked to inflame the peoples of East Asia against the allies as chief of section for East Asia. Some excerpts from the radio addresses written by him show the spirit that moved him. In a talk on 8 January 1941 he declared:

"It seems that the plutocrats and imperialists of Great Britain are suffering from a loss of memory under the uninterrupted blows of the German Air Force and Navy. Otherwise they could not so stupidly claim that they want to liberate the workers, at the very moment when, on the one hand, the Indian workers are carrying out the greatest number of strikes, and on the other hand, social ideas and the high esteem accorded the workers precisely in Germany and Italy are carefully cultivated, and the workers here are freed from imperialist subjugation in the truest sense of the word."

On 10 February 1941 Ferring said, among other things:

"As a reply to the epoch-making speech of the great Führer of the German nation, Adolf Hitler, Churchill, the chief culprit in the English regime stained with war crimes, also deemed it necessary to make a counter-speech. If one compares the great statesmanlike tasks which Adolf Hitler set himself with the fear-filled stutterings of Churchill, one cannot help thinking of a wrestling match in the streets of Bombay . . .

"The new times with their revolutionary impetus overpower the sated and aging plutocracies, which still believe they can hold back history. The new ideas in economics and technology find their expression in the rise of the German Reich under Adolf Hitler." (*German Central Archives, Potsdam. File AA No. 48,007*)

In this and similar ways, the propaganda and agitation of the nazi leadership was spread in all countries of the world. In addition to the aforementioned SS-Ober-

führer Rühle, two men were responsible for this propaganda as his deputies. The first, Hans Schirmer, was his deputy up to 1942 and is today ambassador of the Federal Republic to Australia. The second, Kurt Georg Kiesinger, was his deputy from 1942 on and is today Chancellor of the West German Federal Republic. These men also bear direct responsibility for the setting up and further development of the network of secret radio transmitters of the espionage service and of the army station. Since Kiesinger showed himself to be most "amenable" to the criminal nazi policy, and at the same time also to be a propagandist with no reservations whatsoever towards that policy, his career developed rapidly. After a short period he became deputy head of the Political Broadcasting Department. In this position, he coordinated the foreign propaganda of the Foreign Office with the activities of the Propaganda Ministry under Goebbels. As director of nazi foreign propaganda he had a leading position in all organs that spread or represented radio propaganda. These included:

- "Interradio AG";
- the group of "European Stations";
- the "secret stations", grouped together under the camouflage name, "Concordia";
- the "Special Service Sea House", which was a secret monitoring station.

These positions were utilized by Kiesinger with all his energy to bring the fascist ideas to the whole world, to break down the anti-Hitler coalition, and to organize Hitler's fifth columns.

Along with Dr. Ferring, Kiesinger and Schirmer, the following worked in this department:

- Günter Diehl, who was liaison man of the Foreign Ministry with the office of the secret transmitter, "Concordia". Today he is state secretary for the Federal Press and Information Office in Bonn.
- Dr. Georg von Lilienfeld, who directed the fascist propaganda against North America as chief of the American section (RU IX) and a member of the North American committee. Today he is ambassador of the Federal Republic in Teheran.
- Kajus Köster, at first active under Kiesinger, then as personal secretary to the department head, SS-Oberführer Rühle. Today he is ambassador of the Federal Republic in Panama.
- Dr. Erich Jakob, who was head of the Far East section under Kiesinger. Today he is consul in the consulate general of the Federal Republic in Osaka.
- Ewald Mühlen, who was deputy head of section VI (Scandinavia–Netherlands). Today he is counsellor first class in the embassy of the Federal Republic in Paris.
- Dr. Erwin Wickert, who was an intimate co-worker of Kiesinger, Schirmer, Ferring and Jakobs in the planning, guidance and implementation of Goeb-

bels' ether war in the whole of the Far East. Today he is envoy in the embassy of the Federal Republic in London.

Further Departments of the Nazi Foreign Office

Members of the staff of other, no less incriminated, departments of the fascist Foreign Office, such as the Personnel Department, the Protocol Department, or the Press and Information Departments, were:

- Dr. Hilmar Bassler
ambassador of the Federal Republic to Indonesia
head of department P VIII (East Asia section of the Press Department)
- Dr. Karl August Zapp
ambassador of the Federal Republic to Mexico head of section in the Protocol Department
- Wilhelm Günther Hermann Detleff von Heyden
consul general of the Federal Republic in Hongkong
legation secretary in the Protocol Department
- Günther Kempf
head of the trade mission of the Federal Republic in Finland
legation secretary in the Protocol Department
- Horst Groepper
Ministerialdirektor and head of the Legal Department head of group II in the Protocol Department
- Hans Böhling
consul first class, chief of the consulate of the Federal Republic in Graz
member of the staff of the Personnel Department
- Dr. Hans-Heinrich Bormann
consul first class of the Federal Republic in Bergen
legation secretary in the Press Department in 1944–45, belonged to "the dependable ones" who could be used for the courier service
- Dr. Heinz-Günther Sasse
deputy head of the office of the West German Foreign Office that operates illegally in West Berlin as member of the staff of the information department evaluated stolen government files (Künsberg special commando).
- Dr. Ernst Kutscher
embassy counsellor first class of the Federal Republic in Buenos Aires
a participant in the notorious Krummhübel conference
- Herbert Blankenhorn
ambassador of the Federal Republic in London
legation counsellor and head of section in the Protocol Department

The Bureau of the Reich Foreign Minister

The coordination of the activity of the Foreign Office took place basically through the Bureau of the Reich Foreign Minister (Büro-RAM), the personal staff of the

Reich Foreign Minister and the adjutants of the Reich Foreign Minister.

An examination of the files of the ministry shows that the members of these three groups were privy to all the important business of the Foreign Office. As the intimate confidants of Ribbentrop, these members of the staff had considerable influence on the final decisions of the Reich Foreign Minister on the concrete participation of the ministry in the various actions of nazi foreign policy. As the testimony of former Legation Counsellor Dr. Rudolf Steg in the Wilhelmstrasse trial showed, these offices were, for example, directly involved in carrying out diplomatic actions with which the nazi state put pressure on its then allied states to step up the pace of the deportations of Jewish citizens to the fascist extermination camps. In addition to these components of the structure of the Foreign Ministry there was also the "Ribbentrop Bureau" or office. It came into existence in 1933 in Ribbentrop's quality a "representative for foreign policy questions on the staff of the Führer's deputy". This office continued to exist alongside the Foreign Office after the outbreak of the war. Some of its members, after the naming of Ribbentrop to the post of Foreign Minister, were taken over as officials of the Foreign Office.

A member of this small circle of people that enjoyed the special favour of the fascist Reich foreign minister was the present head of the Protocol Department in the Bonn Foreign Office, Dr. Hans Schwarzmann.

Schwarzmann, as an official in charge of French affairs, functioned as Ribbentrop's contact man with the nazi Ambassador Abetz in Paris. He participated actively in the deportation and murder of thousands of Frenchmen (DZA Potsdam, AA G 1,133).

Other members of these offices were Dr. Karl Albers, now ambassador of the Federal Republic in San Salvador, and Dr. Rudolf Steg, now reporting legation counsellor first class in the Bonn Foreign Ministry.

Organizers of Hitler's Policy of Aggression in the Service of Bonn

Bonn Nazi Diplomats Deceived the World and Prepared Hitler's Aggressions

The foreign missions of the Third Reich played a responsible role in the preparation and unleashing of the Second World War. They made great efforts to deceive the victims of the planned aggression and to isolate them diplomatically. They organized espionage and sabotage in the countries where they operated. They had close connections with the circles from which, after the occupation by the German Wehrmacht, the Quisling regimes were formed. The systematic viola-

tion of diplomatic immunity and other principles of international law by the foreign diplomatic missions of the Third Reich is an unprecedented chapter of long-term and comprehensively planned diplomatic preparations for aggression, the knowledge of which helps to unearth the secret of how wars are born.

The mobilizing of the Foreign Service of the fascist German state for the Second World War began as far back as March 1938 along with the mobilizing of other central organs. That included, for example, the dissolution of the War Ministry and the creation of the OKW, the setting up of the second secret "Reich Defence Council" and the bringing of the Reich Economic Ministry within the jurisdiction of the "commissioners for the four year plan". At that time, State Secretary Weizsäcker of the Foreign Office ordered the transition in the German foreign missions to the so-called *Dienst in Spannungszeiten*, that is to say, "service in periods of tension". For the direct preparation for the planned aggression on the diplomatic and intelligence service levels, the budget of the foreign missions and the whole Foreign Service was raised by nine million Reichsmarks in 1938 and by 23 million in 1939.

In the Foreign Office, within the framework of this mobilization, a number of structural changes were undertaken, as well as changes in personnel. These included:

- With the naming of Ribbentrop to the post of Foreign Minister, a part of his co-workers in the "Ribbentrop Bureau" was shifted to the Foreign Office.
- The "Deutschland" section was changed into the "Deutschland" department.
- The Information Department was reorganized.
- The policy was launched of fitting police attachés into the service. These were selected and directed by the Reich Main Security Office.

One of the most important tasks of the diplomats of the Wilhelmstrasse at the time was the masking of Hitler Germany's true aims.

With shameless hypocrisy they sought to dissipate the fears of the Czechoslovak government about the preparations for the nazi aggression. But since they did not succeed, the then envoy and deputy chief of the political department in the Foreign Ministry, von Bismarck, issued instructions to the embassies in London, Washington, Paris, Rome, Warsaw and the legations in Budapest, Belgrade and Bucharest to do everything possible to break the resistance of the Czechoslovak government to the fascist policy of annexation. (*Files on German foreign policy, 1918–1945*, Imprimerie Nationale, Baden-Baden, 1950, Series D, Vol. 11, p. 135). After 1945 this same von Bismarck became a CDU Bundestag deputy in the Federal Republic, vice-president of the Council of Europe and a member of the Assembly of the Western European Union.

In the same way, the foreign missions were used by the Berlin headquarters in the diplomatic preparation

of aggression against the former Memel territory, Poland and the Netherlands. The available files show that all means, whether lies, incitement or conscious provocation, were considered suitable by the nazi diplomats in translating their criminal plans into deeds.

After the fascist armies had carried out the plans of aggression of the German imperialist state, it was the task of the diplomats to "justify" the aggression before world public opinion. Either the Hitler diplomats sought to place the blame for these attacks on the victims, by offering world public opinion the legend that Germany had acted in self-defence, or they put forward "lofty" and "ethical" reasons for their actions, pressing heavily, above all, on the bugbear of the "danger from the East", with its supposed "threat to the freedom of the nations".

But not only that. The nazi diplomats did not shrink from falsifying the crimes committed and the nazi violations of other nations' rights, or from glorifying the acts of aggression of Hitler Germany. They also did everything possible, through incitement, subversion and falsifications, to split the anti-Hitler coalition and to hold back the people from the struggle against nazi barbarism. For that purpose they intervened, in violation of all diplomatic norms, in the sovereign affairs of individual states and attempted to draw the few neutral states to their side in the war.

In connection with the war preparations against the Soviet Union, Hitler strengthened his efforts in the spring of 1941 to further sharpen tensions in the Far East. In this his aim was to win his axis partner, Japan, as quickly and completely as possible for spreading the war to the Pacific area and to get Japanese support for the attack on the Soviet Union.

An expression of these aggressive machinations was the sending of Elgar von Randow, today West German consul general in Calcutta, to Shanghai. Randow was named head of the representation there of the German embassy in Peking on 13 March 1941. At the same time he received the "assignment of the central direction of all German propaganda emanating from Shanghai".

The available documents show that Randow did everything in his power to implement the fascist plans. He tried very vigorously to undermine the American-Japanese negotiations in 1941. On 5 November 1941 Randow telegraphed:

"In view of the Japanese-American negotiations . . . it should be shown that the interests of the USA in Asia and the Pacific area are in sharp contradiction to the Japanese goals."

In the same telegram he demanded intensification of the "propaganda by means of the sharpest personal attacks against Roosevelt and his clique".

Randow likewise pressed for the intensification of the fascist incitement and hate propaganda against Britain. In order to undermine Britain's influence in

India in the interests of the fascist colonial plans of aggression, he wrote:

"Urgently suggest energetic strengthening of Indian propaganda through support of Indian independence movement. Can expect strong psychological influence from reports about disturbances from India. Activizing of Sahay movement through concealed German leadership (see also wires No. 149 of 21 July and No. 414 of 28 October)."

To stoke up the anti-British war incitement, for example, Randow made public falsified English parliamentary reports and sent them to American citizens. After the exposure of this action, Randow reported in a telegram to the Foreign Office:

"With reference to telegram of embassy in Washington of 26 November regarding speech of emigrant Professor Kempner.

"Claims are correct. Publication of imitations of parliamentary reports with crassly caricatured persiflage of a Churchill speech invented here took place with most careful camouflage. Sent on to America, Hongkong, Singapore."

Similar subversive activity was carried out by the members of other diplomatic missions in all countries of the world where Hitler diplomats were stationed.

Files in the possession of the GDR in this connection incriminate the following:

- Dr. Richard Breuer today envoy in Tokyo
 then legation secretary in Tokyo
- Dr. Eckart Briest today ambassador of the
 Federal Republic to Uruguay
 previously: until 1943 Legation-secretary in "Informationsstelle III" at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- Eugen Betz today reporting legation
 counsellor first class in the
 Foreign Office
 then vice consul in Shanghai
- Dr. Horst Böhling today ambassador of the
 Federal Republic in Kuala Lumpur
 previously: 1939–1945 at the
 fascist embassy in China,
 vice-consul
- Dr. Heinrich Northe today ambassador of the
 Federal Republic in the
 Council of Europe
 then legation secretary in
 China and representative of
 the Foreign Office in Saigon
- Dr. Heinrich Röhreke today ambassador of the
 Federal Republic in Manila
 then chief of the nazi consulate in Hankow, China

– Dr. Susanne Simonis today head of the consulate of the Federal Republic in Vancouver then nazi propagandist specializing in radio talks about life in wartime Germany, etc.

Bonn Diplomats Participated in War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity

The International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg clearly proclaimed the guilt of practically all the diplomats of the nazi Foreign Ministry for their activities, declaring:

"We hold that everyone who plans aggressive wars and invasions, who prepares, begins and carries them out, and everyone who knowingly, consciously and culpably takes part in such actions commits crimes against international law and must be brought before the courts for his actions, and be condemned and punished." (NT, Case XI, Vol. CCXLI, p. 27,622)

Within the framework of the nazi policy of aggression and occupation, the Foreign Office was given the following assignments:

- The recruitment of forced labourers in France, Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union
- The recruitment of Waffen-SS units in satellite or occupied countries
- The delivery of political prisoners by the satellite countries to German concentration camps.

(Seabury, *Die Wilhelmstrasse—Die Geschichte der deutschen Diplomatie* (Wilhelmstrasse—The History of German Diplomacy), Frankfurt-on-Main, p. 184)

True, the Hitler diplomats did not carry out the murder, mistreatment or the deportations and the stealing of goods and property worth millions, or the economic blackmail, with their own hands. But before carrying out most of these crimes, the SS, the Wehrmacht and other bodies first obtained the express approval of the Foreign Ministry. The officials of these bodies safeguarded the carrying out of these crimes against international law through diplomatic misrepresentations, through distracting attention from them, or through legal fictions, all done with the greatest pedantry towards foreign countries. For example, they made it their special task to conceal or deny, vis-a-vis the protective powers, the war crimes committed by the SS, the Gestapo and other organizations against allied prisoners of war.

The diplomats conducted themselves in accordance with the line in the notorious speech of Himmler in Posen on 4 October 1943, in which he declared with a brutality that could hardly be exceeded:

"I am not the least bit interested in how the Russians are faring, or how the Czechs are faring ... If the other nations are living in prosperity or perishing

from hunger interests me only to the extent that we can use them as slaves for our culture, otherwise I am not the least bit interested. Whether 10,000 Russian women drop from exhaustion or not in digging tank ditches, interests me only to the extent that the tank ditches are finished for Germany." (Dr. Robert M. W. Kempner and Dr. Carl Haensel, *Das Urteil im Wilhelmstrassen-Prozess*, Schwäbisch-Gmünd, p. 114)

One of the diplomats who most zealously justified the fascist aggressors' war crimes was Professor Grewe, who served the Hitler government as an "expert in international law". Later he was to be West German ambassador. In his article that appeared in the September 1941 number of the *Monatshefte für Auswärtige Politik* (Monthly Journal of Foreign Policy), Grewe among other things rejected the demand that the Geneva Convention and the Hague Convention on Land Warfare be respected. In this he shares responsibility for the intellectual sponsorship of numerous crimes committed against captured soldiers of Great Britain, France and other states of the anti-Hitler coalition. The "theoretical" arguments of "experts" like Professor Grewe served the purpose of justifying the brutal mistreatment and murder of hundreds of thousands of Soviet prisoners of war.

The aforementioned article by Grewe, among other things, rejects the validity of international law with reference to the war of aggression of Hitler Germany. This "expert on international law" wrote:

"Nobody will want to claim that the decision of 22 June did not grow out of very real considerations. In accordance with historical precedents, all great world-historical missions that do not remain stuck in the stage of utopia and unnecessary planning have their beginnings in this way ...

"This war in fact cannot be fitted into the categories of traditional war and neutrality rights suited to the wars of national states ...

"In England and the United States it is suddenly pretended that the Soviet Union is a state like others, and wherever possible, even an especially peaceful and trustworthy one, to which one can entrust the control of the peace in the whole of Eastern Europe."

The diplomats of the Wilhelmstrasse made the doctrine of the rejection of legality developed by Grewe and others the yardstick of their actions, as the available documents show.

A number of nazi diplomats worked closely in the temporarily occupied territories with the so-called Reich plenipotentiaries as representatives of the Foreign Office (VAA), with the various officials, for example, with the "Government of the *Generalgouvernement*¹⁾", with the commanders of the security police

¹⁾ Polish territories occupied, but not annexed by nazi Germany.

and the SD (security service), with the commandos of the Gestapo and the military commanders.

A certain circle of people in the Foreign Office was regularly informed of the mass murders and the depredations of the notorious SD commandos in the occupied territories. The lists with the names of thousands of those arrested, thrown into concentration camps or murdered were mostly jointly prepared by the Gestapo, the SD and the fascist diplomats.

A study of the files of the nazi Foreign Ministry reveals the names of a number of prominent people who today occupy high diplomatic offices in the West German Federal Republic. Among them are:

- Ernst Ludwig Ostermann von Roth
ambassador to Colombia
in 1942 VAA with Panzer Army High Command 2/
Centre

In the available files (AA 60988, VVA Reports) Ostermann von Roth makes suggestions as to “how the enemy can be split and the pacification of the population achieved”. He suggests the setting up of a counter-government in the occupied territories of the USSR. He says:

- “1. The counter-government can exert a strong attraction in the rear of the enemy and in the Red Army. Those who desert to us would not be traitors but would simply be changing the system. (Up to now a counter-government has always had a disintegrating effect.)
- “2. The propagandistic utilization of this abroad can give the anti-Communist elements new arguments (internal civil war to throw out a bad political regime).
- “3. An ostensible government can be a sign of stabilization of the situation in the Eastern area and thereby be interpreted as an indication of the force of fascism.”

Ostermann von Roth was thereupon personally received by von Ribbentrop. A note in the files says about this:

“RAM (Reich Foreign Minister Ribbentrop – ed.) favorably impressed by both gentlemen.”

Other West German diplomats who before 1945 represented the interests of the Foreign Office towards the occupation authorities of the Third Reich in the illegally occupied areas of other states were:

- Dr. Karl Albers
today:
ambassador of the Federal Republic in El Salvador;
then:
VVA attaché with the notorious nazi murderer Frank, the *Generalgouverneur* for Poland
- Dr. Wilhelm Helmut van Almsick
ambassador of the Federal Republic to Guatemala belonged to the office of the Reich governor¹⁾ in the

¹⁾ Reichsstatthalter – representative of the Reich government in a Land (province).

Sudetengau later in a “procurement commando” in Warsaw

- Hans Heinrich Herwarth von Bittenfeld
head of a commission to reform the Foreign Office and to reorganize the Foreign Service
active in the occupied Eastern areas and participated in the building up of the Vlassov Army
- Dr. Hubert Krier
ambassador of the Federal Republic in Asuncion
section chief in the Trustee Office East, one of the organizations created by the nazi leadership to steal assets in occupied Poland
- Dr. Guenther Motz
ambassador of the Federal Republic in La Paz
employee in the office of the Reich governor in the Sudetengau
- Hans Heinrich Sante
consul general of the Federal Republic in Boston
war administration counsellor in the Wehrmacht, decorated with the War Service Cross 2nd class with swords
- Baron Dr. Reinhold von Ungern-Sternberg
ambassador of the Federal Republic in Brussels
VVA with Army High Command 18
- Dr. Friedrich-Wilhelm Wehrstedt
ambassador and inspector of the Foreign Office for diplomatic and consular missions in the West German Foreign Office served under Ministerialrat Delbrück in the occupied territories of Western Europe and in the Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories
- Dr. Herbert Schwörbel
Reporting legation counsellor first class in the Foreign Office of the Federal Republic
press attaché to the Reich plenipotentiary for Greece
- Dr. Karl-August Zapp
ambassador of the Federal Republic in Mexico
VVA with the Reich commissar for the occupied Netherlands territory
- Dr. Hans Georg Sachs
ambassador of the Federal Republic with the EEC and the European Atomic Community
press attaché to the Reich plenipotentiary for Italy
- Elgar von Randow
consul general of the Federal Republic in Calcutta with the Air Force operation staff in Berlin
- Dr. Hans-Dietrich Schmidt-Horix
ambassador of the Federal Republic in Lisbon
press attaché to the plenipotentiary of the Reich in Fasano, Italy

To round out the picture of the activity of the diplomats of the nazi Foreign Ministry in the plundering and enslaving of other peoples, attention should be directed to their participation in an especially grievous violation of international law.

Immediately after Hitler Germany's attack on the Soviet Union, a group of nazi diplomats, including a member of Ribbentrop's inner circle, the present Bonn

ambassador in London, Herbert Blankenhorn, was sent to the Eastern front. The aim was to organize the ruthless plundering of the occupied Soviet areas.

The most advantageous method of accomplishing this was worked out in close collaboration with the then Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories Alfred Rosenberg who wrote in his report of 28 June 1941:

"After being informed of the matter the Reich Foreign Minister has named Geheimrat¹⁾ Grosskopf as the permanent representative to his office. For the requested representative in the Political Department of his office . . . the Foreign Ministry released Consul General Dr. Bräutigam, whom I have known for years, who speaks Russian and who worked for many years in Russia." (Der Prozess gegen . . ., op. cit., Vol. XXVI, pp. 585 ff)

The plundering of the temporarily occupied territories of Poland and the Soviet Union was organized with the help of the Foreign Office, through the Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories, the staff of the "Commissioners for the Four Year Plan", and the special organizations created by the latter for carrying out the plundering under its direction.

Not only in the Soviet Union, but also in the other invaded countries the Hitler diplomats worked as legal advisers to the German monopolies. With the participation of the man who is today West German ambassador in Buenos Aires, Ernst Günther Mohr, a plan was developed, for example, to force Denmark into an economic union with the Hitler Reich, in order to harness the resources of the Danish economy even more completely in the service of the German war economy.

(Document No. NT 3,760, Office of Chief of Counsel for War Crimes)

In other occupied territories also the Hitler diplomats were loyal helpers of the armaments industry of Nazi Germany—as, for example, in Bulgaria, France, Norway and Italy.

A zealous helper of the fascist Reich's leadership in the piratical depredations carried out on a grand scale, for example, was the member of the advisory council of the "Göttingen Working Group", Hasso von Etdorf (retired Bonn ambassador).

Flagrantly violating the regulations of the Hague Convention on Land Warfare, the special commando of the Waffen-SS commanded by SS-Sturmbannführer von Künsberg, stole the archives and the art treasures in the temporarily occupied Western and Eastern territories. The Künsberg special commando was responsible to the Foreign Office in its predatory activity. SS-Sturmbannführer von Künsberg was at the same time one of Ribbentrop's diplomats. The archives stolen by his commando, it can be proven, were evaluated by diplomats of the Foreign Ministry.

In coordinating the collaboration between the re-

presentative of the Foreign Office (VAA) with the Künsberg commando, Hasso von Etdorf played a key role as delegate of the Reich foreign minister to the supreme commander of the army.

A secret report of the commando of 7 July 1941, for example, stated:

"Therefore, immediately after learning of the difficulties that arose for individual VAA's through the aforementioned OKH order, I asked the VAA at the OKH, Capt. von Etdorf, to bring about the issuing of an order in which the . . .

"In addition, it is nevertheless necessary, in the interest of the activity engaged in jointly by the VAA's and the 'Künsberg Group', to create a closer collaboration."

Etdorf's criminal activity also emerges from the following note of 26 August 1940 which was signed and stamped by him, and which stated:

"Handwritten . . . Art Treasures

"Abetz has a directive from R.A.M. (Ribbentrop) to go ahead, that means, to continue to seize . . . Jewish and public art objects.

"(Shipment will take place only after communication with OKH). Lammer's decree does not include France, for which Abetz has an express assignment from the Führer." (DZA Potsdam, NT No. 090)

Diplomats of the West German Federal Republic as Spies of Hitler

Numerous documents show that the Nazi Foreign Office was one of the most important props of the espionage system of the German Reich. It is known that the Foreign Ministry organized a comprehensive espionage apparatus. The departments competent for this, in the closest collaboration with the espionage agencies of the SD and the OKW, created a network of agents throughout the world. On 13 April 1943 Envoy Ettel sent a communication to State Secretary Baron von Steengracht, which was stamped "Secret Reich Matter" and which stated:

"Every mission chief must endeavour, especially in time of war, to gather as much good information as possible. For that purpose, he must teach and give directives to the personnel under him on the tasks of gathering information."

In a special agreement on collaboration between the Foreign Ministry and the Gestapo in the field of espionage, it was declared:

"The Foreign Office gives all possible aid to the secret service. The Reich Foreign Minister—to the extent possible—will employ certain members of the secret service in the Foreign Service."

At the same time the ministry and its foreign missions worked closely with a number of other fascist underground and espionage organizations, for example, with the "Foreign Policy Office" of the NSDAP. The

¹⁾ honorary title given to government officials.

Foreign Office also worked very closely with the so-called Foreign Organization of the fascist party, which instructed German citizens living abroad, and especially the members of the Nazi party among them, on the building of centres for subversion and propaganda together with the ministry's foreign missions.

The same situation existed with reference to the so-called *Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle* (Liaison Office for Germans of Foreign Citizenship). It had the task, in collaboration with the Foreign Ministry, of organizing espionage and subversive activity among Germans who were citizens of foreign states.

The fascist Foreign Office not least used the far-reaching connections of the German monopolies, especially those of *IG-Farben*, for espionage activity. The subversion and espionage of the Foreign Office extended to almost all countries, even including neutral states.

All departments of the ministry participated in this subversive activity. The Political Department and the Political Broadcasting Department, however, were primarily responsible for its coordination.

The collaboration that developed along these lines between the diplomats of the Foreign Ministry, the Gestapo and the SD is unmistakably lauded as "purposeful, intimate and trusting" in a report of the "Deutschland" Department of the Foreign Ministry on 8 August 1940. The following examples confirm the correctness of this statement.

Numerous SS officers were for a time included in the foreign political apparatus with "special assignments"—mostly for espionage and sabotage activities and for the building up of fifth columns. A "Secret Reich matter" of office IV of the RSHA (Reich Main Security Office) of 6 August 1943 to the Foreign Office stated that this "development" requires "the stepped up inclusion of staff members" of the RSHA in the diplomatic missions, especially in "countries which are today still neutral". Further, the report laid down in detail under what diplomatic disguise the SD people were to work in the various foreign diplomatic missions, for example, in Berne, Geneva and Milan.

SS officers were taken into the diplomatic service as scientific assistants (WHA). Usually they received the diplomatic rank of a legation secretary or legation counsellor, in accordance with their previous "services".

Many Ribbentrop diplomats reported directly to the SD or the Gestapo. The mail reception office of the Foreign Office daily received letters from all kinds of diplomats for the chief of the "Sipo¹⁾ and the SD". Dr. Ewald Lanwer, who was consul in Abenra under Ribbentrop, sent regular espionage reports to Gestapo chief Ernst Kaltenbrunner and Himmler's confidant, Walter Schellenberg. Today Lanwer is embassy coun-

¹⁾ security police.

sellor first class in the West German mission to the OECD in Paris.

So-called police attachés were installed in numerous diplomatic missions. These specially "tried and tested" representatives of the RSHA were subordinate to Himmler as well as to the Foreign Ministry.

The lists of police attachés in the archives in the possession of the GDR include, among others, such notorious murderers of Jews as SS-Sturmbannführer Adolf Hoffmann and SS-Hauptsturmführers Dann-ecker, Wisliceny and Richter, who are described as "diplomats".

In many actions there was an interweaving of institutions and persons going beyond the framework of close collaboration between the fascist Foreign Ministry and the SS command. Thus the head of office VII in the RSHA, SS-Brigadeführer Dr. Six, in 1943 took over the leadership of the Cultural Department of the Foreign Office with the rank of envoy.

Out of the mass of available files on the subversive activity of the Foreign Ministry and its diplomats, it is obvious that only a selection can be made within the framework of this documentation.

The Grobba Special Staff

At the end of 1941 and beginning of 1942, the Nazi Foreign Ministry pressed ahead with its planning for the conquest of the Near East. For that purpose two special staffs were set up. One was "Special Staff F" in the OKW under the leadership of General Felmy, who trained military cadres in Greece for desert warfare. The other was the "Grobba Special Staff" in the Reich Foreign Ministry.

The latter was entrusted with the political and organizational preparation of the occupation of this area. It selected the "rulers" foreseen for these states, established contacts with "suitable circles", and organized a fifth column.

In a secret note of 6 November 1941 of the Foreign Ministry the tasks of the Grobba Special Staff are clearly defined:

"Its task is the political preparation of the German advance in the Arab area and, after the advance, the carrying out on the spot of German policy in accordance with directives from the Foreign Office." (Documentation Centre of the State Archives Administration of the GDR, No. 358 142)

The document gives the following information about the political employees of this staff:

"The staff of the plenipotentiary of the Foreign Office for the Arab countries, Envoy Dr. Grobba

"a) Political employees:

Legation Counsellor Dr. Granow,
at present liaison man to the Felmy Staff in Athens (was with me in Baghdad, speaks Arabic)

"Legation Secretary Mirow, at present with special unit 280 in Laurion (Greece), was in Jerusalem. Vice-Consul Dr. Seydel, at present in the consulate at Tetouan (was with me in Baghdad, speaks Arabic)."

And at another point, the document lists the name of Kurt Munzel.

Envoy Dr. Grobba is today chairman of the Near and Middle East Association.

Legation Secretary Mirow is at present reporting legation counsellor first class in the West German Foreign Office.

Kurt Munzel was until recently ambassador in the Foreign Office of the Federal Republic and is today in retirement.

The Reich Railway Publicity Centre

Under this designation a disguised organization of the SD was hidden with "branches" in numerous other countries in the activities of which the nazi diplomats were involved. In the file of an SD representative there are remarks about the building up of the so-called Reich Railway Publicity Centre and its "branch" in Japan, dated 22 April 1941:

"The undersigned was asked to participate in a meeting on 24 March 1941 between SS-Sturmbannführer Finke, SS-Obersturmbannführer Winter, head of the Reich Railway Publicity Centre, and Dr. Jörn Leo, head of the branch of the Reich Railway Publicity Centre in Tokyo . . .

"It is planned to assign Dr. Leo the job of co-ordinating the intelligence network in Japan . . . Dr. Leo will be in contact with the following people: SS-Untersturmführer Franz Krapf, attaché in the German Embassy in Japan."

Today, Franz Krapf is ambassador of the Federal Republic in Tokyo. The diplomats who arranged Krapf's transfer to Tokyo included the then Legation Secretary Hilmar Bassler, who was the man responsible for the nazi East Asia propaganda in the press department of AA (PVIII). He, too, was one of the agents of the SD and Office IV (Gestapo) in the RSHA.

The Gestapo came to him with numerous questions and assignments. In December 1940, Bassler was an adviser to the RSHA, Office IV, B 4a with regard to some undertakings in China. In other cases, Bassler was the liaison with the RSHA. Today, Dr. Hilmar Bassler is ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Federal Republic to Indonesia.

The Henke Special Staff

Under the leadership of SS-Brigadeführer and Envoy Andor Henke, a personal friend of Ribbentrop, the *Deutsche Informationsstelle III* came into being in the summer of 1941 in Berlin-Lankwitz.

The task of this secret service agency was to gather "secret information" outside the province of normal diplomatic reporting; to put together a network of trusted people, and to recruit agents from among prominent personalities of various European countries.

In a "secret Reich matter" document of 13 April 1943 the then leader of *Informationsstelle III*, Envoy Ettel, reported to the state secretary in the Reich Foreign Ministry, Baron von Steengracht, about the building up of the *Informationsstelle*:

"The building up of the *Deutsche Informationsstelle III* has . . . been effected to the extent that officials and employees of the Reich missions have been installed as special agents."

The document reveals that the *Informationsstelle*, while it was under Ribbentrop, nevertheless had intimate connections with the SD, that is to say, with Office III of the RSHA:

"Under an agreement with the SD it was possible to arrange that its technical facilities will also be used to transmit information coming from the special agents of *Informationsstelle III*.

"This proceeding presupposes . . . a close and trusting collaboration between the Foreign Office and the SD."

Just as intimate were its relations with Office VI of the RSHA (SD abroad).

In a talk with SS-Brigadeführer Walter Schellenberg, the chief of the Foreign Political Intelligence Service of the RSHA (Office VI), Ribbentrop elaborated his views on the Henke agency:

"I must create sources of information in the most important places in the world, and not concern itself with details, but with the most important, the most secret matters. For that purpose not more than ten to twenty especially able employees . . . should be drawn into the work in the world who must have unlimited financial means at their disposal."

Out of the wealth of further materials about the espionage activity of the Foreign Ministry, further names should be added:

– Dr. Luitpold Werz

Ministerialdirektor and chief of the Cultural Department of the West German Foreign Office. In 1942–43, as a result of a vigorous British press campaign regarding his espionage activity—he was then chief of the activities of the fascist fifth column in South Africa—the Portuguese government asked him to leave Lourenco Marques, where he was consul.

– Dr. Henning Thomson

ambassador of the Federal Republic in Reykjavik carried on special military espionage in Dublin as a nazi legation counsellor.

– Dr. Hans Ulrich von Schweinitz

ambassador of the Federal Republic in Nairobi as vice consul in Iskenderum engaged in military espionage and helped in the setting up of the network of secret wireless transmitters.

Bonn Diplomats of Today were Active in the "Final Solution of the Jewish Question"

To the most loathsome crimes of the diplomats of Wilhelmstrasse belong their active participation in the "final solution of the Jewish question", the physical destruction of millions of Jews in Germany and in the territories temporarily occupied by Hitler Germany's armies of aggression. The judgment in the Wilhelmstrasse trial says about their guilt:

"There is no excuse or justification for anyone who consciously, and with agreement, took part in the measures out of which this revolting and fearful crime grew, and that holds true whether he ordered them or merely assisted in them or justified them before the world or gave aid and support to those who carried them out." (NT, Case XI, Vol. CCXL II, p. 27,827)

The Nazi Foreign Office played a fateful role in the organizing, planning and concealment of these crimes. In the period 1938–1940, when the policy was still primarily or temporarily one of expropriating the property of the Jews living in Germany and of expelling and destroying them, the Foreign Ministry was already investigating, with the Gestapo and the SD, the question of when the appropriate moment would come for persecuting the Jews living in Germany with foreign citizenship. Further, the Foreign Ministry had the assignment of promoting anti-Semitism abroad and concealing the acts of brutality of the fascists in order to counteract the growing opposition of international public opinion to the criminal Nazi regime.

Typical of the work of the Foreign Office at that time are primarily two documents. One is the Wiehl Memorandum—Wiehl was then head of the Economic Department of the Foreign Ministry. Dated 25 January 1939, the memorandum dealt with the expropriation measures against the Jews and was forwarded to all diplomatic missions and consulates. The second document is the memorandum of Legation Counsellor Schumburg of the "Deutschland" Special Section, also dated 25 January 1939. It is titled, "The Jewish Question as a Factor of Foreign Policy in 1938".

In the Schumburg memorandum, the Foreign Ministry took a position for such a "radical solution of the Jewish question" that it seemed "premature" even to the RSHA. At the end of 1941, the "Deutschland" Department drafted a memorandum on "The Conceptions of the Reich Foreign Ministry on the Total Solution of the Jewish question" for a conference with SS Obergruppenführer Reinhard Heydrich. On 4 December 1941 the chief of this Department, Luther, developed the well-known Eight-Point Program that figured prominently at the Wannsee Conference.

This program demanded that the Jews of the various nationalities should be removed from Germany and the other European countries and destroyed. Point 8 of the Program demanded:

"Carrying out of these measures as before in friendly consultation with the secret state police (Gestapo)."

(Documentation Centre of the State Archives Administration of the GDR, No. 42,550)

Soon another expert opinion was drafted in the Legal Department of the Foreign Ministry, also as part of the preparation of the Wannsee Conference. Among other things, it proposed a bilateral agreement with those states from which the Jews were to be deported. Heydrich, who as chief of the security police and the SD put forward the "final solution" at the Wannsee Conference, referred to the tasks of the Wilhelmstrasse diplomats in this connection:

"In the course of this final solution about 11 million Jews were to be involved, of which only 131,800 lived in the original Reich territory, 43,700 in Austria, and 74,200 in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. "Under proper leadership, the Jews were to be brought in a suitable manner in the East to be put to work in the course of the final solution. This was to be arranged in large labour columns with the sexes separated. A large part of them would undoubtedly fall away through natural decrease. The survivors had to be treated accordingly, since letting them go free would guarantee they would be the germ cells of a new Jewish revival. Further, it is intended that the Foreign Ministry establish connections with the competent head of section of the security police and the SD regarding the handling of the final solution in the European territories occupied and influenced by the Germans. Heydrich said further that the problem in Slovakia and Croatia no longer offers any special difficulties. Rumania has also appointed a Jewish commissioner. For the regulation of the question in Hungary, however, it is necessary in the shortest possible time to force an adviser on the Jewish question on to the Hungarian government. Heydrich then dealt with the problem of the Jewish question in Italy and France." (NT, Case XI, Vol. CCXL, p. 27,842)

This demonstrates that the diplomats of the Foreign Ministry prepared the way for Eichmann's SS-commandos to deport the Jews living in these countries and to liquidate them.

Almost all departments and diplomats of the Reich Foreign Ministry were involved in "the final solution of the Jewish question":

- the "Deutschland" Department under Luther and Rademacher;
- the Inland Group II under Wagner and von Thadden;
- the Informationsstelle XIV (Anti-Jewish Action), to which members of the Commercial, Cultural and Political Broadcasting Departments belonged, as well as of the Press Department;
- the section chiefs for the different countries in the Ribbentrop Bureau, as for example, Dr. Schwarzmann;

- also the envoys, their deputies, the leading personnel of the various missions, the Volkstumsreferenten (nationality experts) as well as the heads of the cultural sections, who collaborated closely with the heads of section dealing with Jewish affairs and whom they represented in the latter's absence.

Outside these circles, other individual departments and personnel of the ministry were given specific assignments in the preparation and implementation of "the final solution".

For example, Inland Group II, with the collaboration of the present West German ambassador to South Africa, Dr. G. A. Sonnenhol, and with the participation of the *Informationsstelle XIV* and the Cultural Department, prepared the infamous Krummhübel Conference.

The third major address at this conference was delivered by the head of the Cultural Department, Envoy and SS-Brigadeführer Dr. Six. Participants also included the representatives of the Commercial Department (Reporting Legation Counsellor Tannenberg), the Political Broadcasting Department (Dr. Ahrens), the Cultural and the Press Departments (Fräulein Dr. Hausmann).

In studying the files of the nazi Foreign Ministry regarding its participation in the deportation and murder of Jewish people, one repeatedly encounters the names of men who are today diplomats of the Bonn Foreign Office. Directly incriminated in this connection are:

- Eckhardt Briest
ambassador of the Federal Republic to Uruguay
worked against the employment of Jewish emigrants in Chinese universities. (*DZA Potsdam*—files of the German embassy in China No. 3,552)
- Dr. Ernst Günther Mohr
ambassador of the Federal Republic in Buenos Aires
shared responsibility for arranging the deportation of Jews from the Netherlands in 1939–41
- Elgar von Randow
consul general of the Federal Republic in Calcutta
carried out the Jewish laws in the jurisdiction of his office, preventing the marriage of a Fräulein Ruth Tausendfreund. (*DZA Potsdam*—files of the German embassy in China 23,277, sheet 102–103)
- Dr. Oskar Schlitter
ambassador of the Federal Republic in Athens
in 1941 brought about the removal of French Envoy Blondel in Sofia because the French diplomat had a Jewish wife
- Hans Heinrich Herwarth von Bittenfeld
chairman of the Commission to Reorganize the Foreign Service
in January 1934 divorced his wife (Annemarie Honigmann), since the fact that she was Jewish would hinder his further career
- Dr. Hans Schwarzmann
head of the Protocol Department in the Bonn Foreign Office

knew of the creation of a central office for Jews in France and among other things also knew of the deportation lists. (*DZA Potsdam NT Case XI, No. 2,442*)

- Dr. Herbert Müller-Roschach (alias Müller)
ambassador-at-large in the Bonn Foreign Ministry
was a member of the "Deutschland" Department,
took part in an inter-ministerial meeting on 29 January 1942 in the Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories nine days after the Wannsee Conference. The meeting discussed a ruling as to what constituted a Jew in the occupied Eastern Territories in order to determine the groups to be included in the "final solution". (NT 5035–Case XI 138)
- Dr. Karl-August Zapp
ambassador of the Federal Republic to Mexico
member of the staff of the "Deutschland" section
- Dr. Ernst Kutscher
embassy counsellor first class of the Federal Republic in Buenos Aires
worked in the *Informationsstelle XIV* (anti-Jewish Action) and in that capacity, among other things, also took part in the so-called Krummhübel Conference.

The then Legation Secretary Dr. Kutscher communicated the "basic principles and guiding lines" on the carrying out of the "final solution" policy to the "specialists on Jews" of the Foreign Ministry. He declared:

"The Jews are the originators of war. They have driven the nations into war because they are materially interested in it. The Jews are the misfortune of all peoples. A Jewish victory would be the end of all culture (example—the Soviet Union). If Germany is fighting the Jews, it is doing so not only for itself, but for the whole of European culture." (From the minutes of the meeting of the specialists on the Jewish question of the German missions in Krummhübel on 3 and 4 April 1944)

(*Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression*, Vol. VI, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, 1946, p. 3319)

Bonn's Diplomats as Hitler's Devoted Followers in Other Institutions of the Third Reich

In addition to diplomats who moved from the Wilhelmstrasse to Bonn, the Foreign Service of the West German Federal Republic is to a considerable extent recruited from members of other, no less incriminated institutions of the "Third Reich". Such institutions are:

- Hitler's terror justice,
- The Reich Economics Ministry,
- Göring's Reich Aviation Ministry,
- the Reich Main Security Office,
- the Wehrmacht and the SS and
- leading circles of the fascist German economy.

From the wealth of material available the following selection was made:

- Dr. Karl Döring, reporting legation counsellor in the Foreign Office of the Federal Republic:
SS-Obersturmführer, member of the “Hohenfier” alumni association, an exclusive club of SS-scientists led by SS-Brigadeführer Professor Dr. Six, of the Reich Main Security Office, office VII. Döring was also a staff member of the Reinhard Heydrich Foundation in Prague.
- Dr. Felix Gaerte
consul general of the Federal Republic in Melbourne, SS-Untersturmführer in the Reich Main Security, Office later in the SS Main Race and Settlement Office.
- Otto Erich Heipertz
head of the trade representation of the Federal Republic in Prague, member of the staff of the Reich Aviation Ministry (Peenemünde-West section) and in the office of the representative for the four-year plan.
- Hans Rolf Kiderlen
reporting legation counsellor 1st class in the Foreign Office of the Federal Republic;
Regierungsrat¹⁾ in the office of the commissioner for the four-year plan.
- Hans Köster
at present in the embassy of the Federal Republic in Madrid; SS-Obersturmführer, member of the fascist SS-reconnaissance he trained, among others, agents in radiotelegraphy.
- Rolf Lahr
former state secretary in the Foreign Office of the Federal Republic, now ambassador of the Federal Republic in Rome; Regierungsrat in the Reich Economics Ministry, for some time member of the management of the Reich industry group, he played an inglorious role in exploiting such so-called allied countries as Hungary and Italy for the nazi war production. Together with the Commercial Department of the Foreign Office in 1941 and 1942, for example, he forced Hungary with predatory payment conditions to supply war-important bauxite to the nazi Reich.
(DZA – Potsdam, Foreign Office files, No. 67916)
Later he belonged to a circle of nazi experts who prepared the economic looting of Iraq in case of the conquest of the Arab states.
- Count Dr. Johannes von Lerchenfeld
trade counsellor of the Federal Republic in Rome: representative of *IG-Farben* in Berlin, Paris and Sofia: during the war he worked, in particular, for the Reemtsma concern in Bulgaria and Greece.
- Hans Marmann
counsellor 1st class in the West German embassy in Ankara; nazi jurist, took part in so-called high-

treason trials of anti-fascists and Jewish citizens. The most frequent reason for prosecution was “oral Communist propaganda”.

- Dr. Franz Nüsslein
consul general of the Federal Republic in Barcelona, Spain; for his brutality in sentencing Czechoslovak patriots enjoyed the special favour of SD chief Reinhard Heydrich and nazi Reich leader²⁾ Martin Bormann.
Heydrich praised his “understanding of the necessity of resolutely combating” upright Czechoslovak citizens. In view of these merits Bormann personally saw to it in the Führer headquarters that Nüsslein was favoured ahead of others in his promotion to senior public prosecutor.
Nüsslein took part in the murder of more than 900 Czechoslovak patriots.
After having been sentenced to 20 years in prison in Czechoslovakia Nüsslein was handed over to the West German government as a non-amnestied war criminal. Here “old friends” saw to it that he was taken care of in the Bonn Foreign Office with excellent conditions.
- Dr. Ulrich Sahm
counsellor 1st class at the NATO representation of the Federal Republic;
in a written work he described the annexation of Austria as a logical result of previous developments and as an “expression of the will” of the Austrian people.
(DAZ – Postdam, RIP p 7/54/44)
- Dr. Rolf Pauls
ambassador of the Federal Republic in Washington, USA; major in the fascist Wehrmacht and bearer of the knight’s cross.

West German Diplomats—Fanatical Nazis

From the material available many conclusions can be drawn about the attitude of these officials of the nazi state to the criminal Hitler regime. The documents on hand prove that many of them were fanatical fascists or evil careerists. In addition to their membership in the National Socialist German Workers’ Party (NSDAP) or one of its affiliated organizations and their ranks in the SS and other nazi organizations they distinguish themselves as active representatives of nazi ideas, informers, denouncers and proponents of a last-ditch policy. In this connection it is revealing to study the personnel files of the following West German diplomats:

- Dr. Felix Gaerte
consul general of the Federal Republic in Melbourne
organized the Hitler Youth in Switzerland in 1933

¹⁾ Cf. list of Civil Service grades at the end of this volume.

²⁾ Reichsleiter, member of the directorate of the nazi party

- Ehrenfried von Holleben
ambassador of the Federal Republic in Rio de Janeiro;
an assesement of Holleben by the National-Socialist Jurists' Association (NSRB) of the Kurmark district on 17 June 1937 states:
"von Holleben worked for the aims of the movement already before the seizure of power."
Provincial President Herold of Potsdam described von Holleben on 5 October 1942 as a
"sincere personality imbued with a true national socialist spirit whose promotion was also in the interest of the movement."
This "sincere personality" demanded an investigation of himself in order to defend his honour as member of the SA against the reproach of not having hoisted a flag to mark Hitler's birthday,
(DZA – Potsdam)
- Eduard Mirow
reporting legation counsellor 1st class in the Bonn Foreign Office;
in a letter of 16 October 1934 he asked State Secretary "Dr. Freisler" for support in circumventing the examinations which were necessary according to law to be accepted into the legal service, calling attention to their "joint struggles".
- Dr. Heinrich Northe
ambassador of the Federal Republic at the Council of Europe in Strasbourg;
as a staff member of the German embassy in China applied for a function in the NSDAP and denounced the French wife of a German diplomat to the relevant nazi authorities.
- Dr. Heinrich Röhreke
ambassador of the Federal Republic in Manila;
even a few months after the defeat of Hitler fascism he made every effort to work for the continuation of the NSDAP and its organizations under camouflaged names. On 14 May 1945 he applied for the function as national socialist leader in Hankow by demanding that it should be placed in the hands of the "leader of the Reich authority", that is, in his hands.
As head of the authorities in Kunming he wrote in a circular of 17 April 1940:
"Anyone who does not declare himself for national-socialism is against us."
- (DAZ – Potsdam, German embassy in China, 4437/1 – 1794/228)
- Dr. Gustav-Adolf Sonnenhol
ambassador of the Federal Republic to South Africa;
as SS-Untersturmführer, head of section II B, was decorated with the SS death-head ring.
- Dr. Ulrich Scheske
ambassador of the Federal Republic in Bangkok;
member of the SS already in 1933 (No. 216977)
- Dr. Hans Schirmer
ambassador of the Federal Republic in Canberra;
Gauhauptstellenleiter¹⁾ of the foreign organization of the NSDAP in London until 1935
- Dr. Hans Schwarzmann
head of the Protocol Department in the Bonn Foreign Office;
according to data of the year 1939 was an "agent of nazi cell Sai 61 – 11" in Paris
- Baron Dr. Herbert von Stackelberg
envoy of the Federal Republic in Washington;
member of the district party court of Siegburg
- Dr. Gerhard Weiz
consul general of the Federal Republic in Sao Paolo;
applied for service in the Gestapo in 1934 and for membership in the SS
- Dr. Christian Zinsser
consul 1st class of the Federal Republic in Porto;
"old fighter", since 1927 NSDAP, 1928 in the SA
- Dr. Georg Federer
head of the Personnel Department in the Bonn Foreign Office;
according to reports from the year 1942 Federer lived in Bern, Switzerland, and under his address 15, Wiltlinghofenweg, a place of call of the fascist secret service was concealed; because of his active nazi activities Federer was expelled by the Swiss authorities after 1945
- Dr. Ernst Günther Mohr
ambassador of the Federal Republic in Buenos Aires;
the language rules for military attachés characterize Mohr as a last-ditcher. A telegram of 24 March 1945 to the embassy in China (Doc. AA 2146) reads:
"Russian reports on successes and their booty figures are as usual highly exaggerated." Mohr

¹⁾ department head in nazi district headquarters.

Nazi Diplomats Occupy Key Positions in West German Foreign Policy

The Second World War which was spread by the fascists to all parts of the world ended with the complete defeat of the fascist aggressor, with the total collapse of a system which was responsible for the death of 55 million people caused by a chain of aggressive acts and military attacks, by a rule of terror and arbitrariness, by mass murders and the most atrocious war crimes.

The term "nazi and war crimes" became a synonym for genocide, barbarism and sadism and the governments of the main powers of the anti-Hitler coalition expressed the unanimous feeling of mankind when they proclaimed in the Crimea Declaration:

"It is our inflexible purpose to destroy German militarism and Nazism and to ensure that Germany will never again be able to disturb the peace of the world. We are determined . . . to bring all war criminals to justice and swift punishment . . ."

The Potsdam Agreement signed by the USSR, the US and Great Britain in 1945, France joined it later, gave the German people a basis in international law for establishing truly democratic conditions in Germany. The German Democratic Republic made the aims of the anti-fascist resistance movement and of the anti-Hitler coalition which found their expression in the Potsdam Agreement, the guiding principle of its actions.

All those forces which had prepared the Second World War and plunged the peoples of Europe into war and misery were removed from all fields of public life. This was in the interest of peace and the security of the neighbouring European countries as well as in the interest of the German people. Although most of the nazi and war criminals fled to the western occupation zones after 1945 only 12,457 people were brought to trial in the West German Federal Republic by January 1964 and here one has to consider that there are three times as many inhabitants of West Germany as of the GDR. Only 5,234 people were legally sentenced, in all other cases the defendants were acquitted, the proceedings were quashed or the trials were not opened at all. (In the GDR 12,807 people were brought to trial!). In those cases in which sentences were passed

in West Germany the sentences as a rule bore no relation to the crimes committed.

When investigating the causes of the different development in the two parts of Germany it will become clear to everybody that forces could be found in West Germany as early as 1945 who were ready for a "plot of the old forces" with the western powers in order to prevent the implementation of the decisions of the Potsdam Agreement, and thus keep German imperialism alive as a bulwark against Socialism.

It is not possible to show the whole extent of these restorational efforts within the framework of this documentation. In connection with what has been said so far the investigations are restricted to the role of nazi diplomats.

The Share of Nazi Diplomats and Members of Other Incriminated Institutions of the Third Reich in the Restoration of the Economic and Political Rule of German Imperialism in the Western Zones and in the Splitting Away of West Germany

After 1945 officials of the nazi Foreign Ministry and other fascist authorities who make up the backbone of the Foreign Office in Bonn today, at first hid themselves in the anonymity of private life or lived as prisoners of war or internees in the countries of the anti-Hitler coalition.

But their names soon appeared again in the assignment plans of the West German provincial governments, in the register of names of the Christian Democratic Union and Christian Social Union parties, of the Social Democratic Party and Free Democratic Party as well as in the personnel lists of the trust managements and economic associations. The monopoly circles of the West German bourgeoisie who with the toleration and support of the occupation authorities of the

western powers began to regain their old economic and political power positions in their restorational policy preferably fell back upon the incriminated servants of the "Third Reich" right from the beginning. This is not least proved by the development of those nazi diplomats and officials of the Hitler government mentioned in this documentation all of whom hold positions in the Bonn Foreign Office today.

For example, the present chairman of the committee for the reorganization of the Foreign Office, nazi diplomat Herwarth von Bittenfeld, and the present head of the Protocol Department in the Bonn Foreign Office, the *protégé* of Ribbentrop, Dr. Schwarzmann, began their career after 1945 as high-ranking officials of the Bavarian State Chancellery. The brothers Dr. Peter Pfeiffer and Dr. Anton Pfeiffer helped them and other officials of the fascist Foreign Ministry to obtain these posts. With the help of influential "old comrades" concentrations of former nazi diplomats and officials of other incriminated authorities of the Third Reich were also observed in other West German provincial governments.

Among the incriminated nazi diplomats and officials of the Bonn Foreign Office who, for example, received new tasks in the provincial government of Baden-Württemberg after 1945 are the present state secretary in the Bonn Foreign Office, Dr. Günter Harkort, who gathered his first experiences as head of section of the fascist Reich Economics Ministry, and the head of the West German trade representation in Finland, Günther Kempff. Other diplomats and officials of the Third Reich who hold key positions in the diplomatic service of the Federal Republic today began their activities after 1945 in the provincial government of other federal *Länder*. The ambassador of the Federal Republic in Nairobi, Dr. Otto Soltmann, for example, was first a member of the Bremen representation in the *Länder* Council. The Federal Republic's ambassador in Paris, Sigismund von Braun, began his political career in 1949 as head of the foreign trade department of the Economic Ministry of Rhineland-Palatinate.

Many of the former diplomats and officials of the fascist German state made use of their official contacts established in the years of the Hitler era with the German economy to find new jobs in the managements of the trusts and economic associations of West German monopoly capital after 1945. In influential positions they rendered valuable services to West German monopoly capital in consolidating its power positions. The ambassador of the Federal Republic in La Paz, Dr. Günther Motz, for example, was general secretary of the German Mining Board as early as 1947.

The ambassador of the Federal Republic in Brussels, Baron von Ungern-Sternberg, in 1948 held a high-ranking post in West German banking. Before entering the Foreign Service of the Federal Republic Sigis-

mund von Braun, at present ambassador of the Federal Republic in Paris, was director of the Glöckner-Humboldt-Deutz-AG in Cologne.

The head of the Legal Department of the Bonn Foreign Office, Horst Groepper, and the ambassador of the Federal Republic in Bujumbura, Burundi, Franz Obermaier, for some time held important posts in the West German economy after 1945.

Attention should not least be given to that part of former nazi diplomats and officials of other fascist authorities who helped to organize the first measures of West German monopoly capital for separating the economy of the western zones step by step from the German national economy and integrating them into the planned imperialist economic bloc of the West. As member of the *Länder* Council of the American occupation zone and of the economic administration of Minden, for example, nazi diplomat Harkort took part in a number of essential steps that led to the formation of the Bi-zone. Dr. Felician Prill, ambassador of the Federal Republic in Dublin had a share in splitting the West German economy from the German national economy in his capacity as leading official in the financial administration of the united economic area.

From 1949 onwards Dr. Harkort worked as permanent representative at the ECA (the American Marshall Plan administration for Germany) where he played an essential role in establishing the economic cooperation of the West German monopolies with American imperialism in the post-war period.

The ambassador-at-large in the Foreign Office, Dr. Müller-Roschach, who was legation secretary under Ribbentrop in the "Germany" department as well as the ambassador of the Federal Republic to the Common Market in Brussels, Dr. Sachs, also worked as contact men with the ECA. As a contact man of the parent organization of the private aid organizations of the US for Germany (CRALOG), Sachs established direct contacts between West German trusts and leading economic circles in the USA.

Many old members of former Reich authorities, Reich associations and employers' associations were employed in the economic administration office in the Bi-zone founded in 1946. One of them was the war criminal Karl Werkmeister, during the Hitler period as legation counsellor under Ribbentrop he took part in the "final solution of the Jewish question" in Hungary; after the war he acted as deputy chairman and at the same time as state secretary in the above-mentioned administration office. A request of the Hungarian Ministry of Justice to the US Military Authority on 13 November 1945 to extradite Werkmeister to Hungary was rejected.

Those nazi diplomats and officials of the "Third Reich", like the ambassador of the Federal Republic in Lisbon, Dr. Schmidt-Horix, who were channelled into

authorities competent for the entry and exit permits of German citizens, were of considerable importance for the organization of the first contacts of West German trusts abroad, and also for the organization of escape routes for incriminated persons to foreign countries. With the help of these officials such nazi diplomats as the Ministerialdirektor in the Bonn Foreign Office, Dr. Federer, who because of their nazi past were expelled from Switzerland and other neutral states, were able to return without difficulty to the western zones after 1945. The nazi diplomats and officials of the "Third Reich" in the German Office for Entry and Exit Permits also made it possible for such incriminated "old comrades" as, for example, the ambassador of the Federal Republic in Tokyo, Franz Krapf, to be able to establish and maintain intensive "business relations" with partners in a number of European countries and outside Europe.

The good services of the nazi diplomats and incriminated officials of the "Third Reich" who are holding high posts—even many of the highest—in the Bonn Foreign Office and in the diplomatic service of the Federal Republic were used by the ruling circles in West Germany after 1945 whenever anti-fascist and democratic forces were to be removed from public life.

As devoted servants of West German monopoly capital we find prominent Bonn nazi diplomats after 1945 in key positions, above all in the CDU-CSU. The ambassador of the Federal Republic in London, Herbert Blankenhorn, began his political career after 1945 as general secretary of the advisory council of the Christian Democratic Union for the British occupation zone. The ambassador of the Federal Republic to Guatemala, Dr. Wilhelm Helmut van Almsick, in the post-war years was a member of the provincial executive of the North-Rhine and chairman of the court of honour of the CDU for the British zone.

Before entering the Bonn Foreign Office the ambassador of the Federal Republic in Ottawa, Dr. Ritter, was for many years a member of the Starnberg district council as representative of the CSU.

Characteristic of the reactionary nature of the imperialist West German separatist state is that it was split away with the active cooperation of those nazi diplomats and incriminated officials of the fascist Reich government who today hold key positions in the West German Foreign Office in Bonn and in West German representations abroad. As personal assistant and close confidant of the president of the Parliamentary Council, Dr. Adenauer, the ambassador of the Federal Republic in London, Herbert Blankenhorn, for example, had an essential share in planning and implementing a number of decisive steps in the realization of the so-called London recommendations which led to the formation of the West German separatist state. As head of the liaison committee to the Allied High Commission in the Federal Chancellory Blankenhorn took part in a number of important secret nego-

tiations in Bonn and on the Petersberg. One of Blankenhorn's close associates in the liaison committee was Dr. Mohr, now ambassador of the Federal Republic in Buenos Aires.

All the examples given to show the integration of nazi diplomats and incriminated officials of the "Third Reich" into the process of restoring the political and economic power of monopoly capital in the western zones are in no way individual cases. Nevertheless one has to take into consideration that the all-out integration of nazi diplomats and incriminated officials from the "Third Reich" which was undoubtedly intended, as is proved by the personnel files of the Foreign Office in Bonn, right from the beginning, aroused considerable resistance in the first years after 1945. The ruling circles in West Germany had to take into account the critical reaction from abroad and not least of the public in the *Länder* occupied by the western powers which was not prepared to tolerate a complete takeover by incriminated nazi diplomats. They also had to consider the reaction of the democratic and anti-fascist forces in the western zones. At a time, however, when the preparation of the separation of a western zone state from Germany had reached a decisive stage they no longer wanted to renounce the systematic integration of entire groups of incriminated persons into the illegally-created *de facto* state organs of the future separatist state. The inclusion of former Ribbentrop diplomats and other servants of the Hitler state should no longer be left to the private initiative of "old comrades".

This new stage of systematically integrating incriminated nazis into the state apparatus of the planned western zone state becomes clearly visible when studying the personnel composition of those institutions which have to be considered as predecessors to the Bonn Foreign Office. The ambassador of the Federal Republic in Buenos Aires, Dr. Mohr, began his diplomatic career in the service of West German imperialism as deputy department head in 1947 in the "German Office for Peace Questions" from which part of the staff of the first Bonn Foreign Office was recruited. Other incriminated officials of the fascist Reich government in top positions of the Bonn Foreign Office who after 1945 first worked in the "German Office for Peace Questions" are State Secretary Dr. Harkort in the Bonn Foreign Office and the West German envoy in Rome, Dr. Rudolf Steg. Mohr, Dr. Harkort and Dr. Steg were by no means the only nazis in this office. Other members of the illustrious society of old comrades from the nazi Foreign Ministry and other central fascist authorities were, among others, the head of the office, Dr. Peter Pfeiffer, Consul General von Etdorf, Legation Counsellor Zimmermann, Legation Counsellor Velhagen and Envoy Strom. All these nazis in the "German Office for Peace Questions" in Stuttgart were anything but just fellow-travellers. Von Etdorf and Mohr, for example, were immediately personally re-

sponsible for the preparation and commission of war crimes.

Hasso von Etzdorf, member of the NSDAP from 1 June 1933 and SA-Obersturmbannführer, took part in actions of the Künsberg commando which stole objects of art from Jewish and public ownership in the occupied areas. As an expert on international law employed by the fascist occupation authorities in France von Etzdorf agreed to and was personally responsible for the shooting of hostages.

For his active participation in the coordination of military and diplomatic actions in preparing the attack on the Soviet Union von Etzdorf was awarded the war service cross, first class. The ambassador of the Federal Republic in Buenos Aires, Dr. Mohr, could look back on a similar criminal past when he joined the Stuttgart office in 1947. As one of the diplomatic underlings in the "final solution of the Jewish question" Dr. Mohr was responsible for the deportation of Dutch Jews to Mauthausen extermination camp.

Dr. Mohr played a key role in the fascist espionage network in North America and in the Mediterranean. As head of the special section Pol. IM Mohr was one of the most evil last-ditchers. The head of the Stuttgart office, and former legation counsellor in the nazi Foreign Ministry, Dr. Peter Pfeiffer was also a notorious fascist as is proved by a number of statements by him contained in various documents.

Is the concentration of some heavily incriminated nazi officials in the "German Office for Peace Questions" only an isolated case? Not at all. The composition of the other offices which under the leadership of Federal Chancellor Adenauer were eventually transformed into the Federal Office for Foreign Affairs in 1950 showed the same concentration of incriminated diplomats and nazi officials.

The concentration of incriminated nazi diplomats and officials of other central fascist authorities in the new offices and authorities of the western zones which became all the most obvious the more the central organs of the planned separatist western zone state were established, forced the ruling circles of West Germany to defend their personnel policy before the West German and international public. Apart from attempts to deny or belittle the presence of old nazis in the offices and authorities of the western zones, cynical efforts were made right from the beginning to hush up, contest or describe as insignificant the responsibilities for war and nazi crimes by reemployed officials. At the same time attempts were made to an increasing extent to justify the criminal policy of fascist German imperialism or to describe it as a misrepresentation of basically justified national problems which were completely misused by Hitler and a fairly small clique of high-ranking national socialist leaders.

Within the framework of this systematic and centrally controlled whitewashing campaign all the in-

criminated officials of the fascist Foreign Ministry and other central authorities of the Third Reich who are representing the foreign policy of the Federal Republic in influential positions today also played an important role.

Whereas in the first years after 1945 accomplished facts were created without making a stir, that is, the integration of nazi diplomats in key positions, another step now had to be taken. This step meant the official whitewashing of the incriminated nazis. For, so far, only a small part of them had been denazified before they assumed their new posts. One has to remark at this point that denazification in the western zones was completely falsified in its essence by the occupation powers and the reactionary forces which from day to day obtained a growing influence on implementing denazification. And soon it was also no longer in the interest of the western powers to persecute nazi war criminals since West Germany was increasingly being considered as a future ally.

An expression of this was not only the mild sentences in the trials of leading officials and military persons of fascist Germany as could be seen in the Wehrmacht high command (OKW) trial on 28 October 1948 and in the Wilhelmstrasse trial on 14 April 1949, but also an increasing campaign in the press against the American chief prosecutors in the Nuremberg successor trials, Telford Taylor and Robert M. W. Kempner, who had made every effort to unmask the true people guilty of German fascism.

After denazification had been played by the occupation powers in the hands of the German authorities the cases of seriously incriminated nazis, supporters and profiteers of the fascist regime escaping their just punishment increased. In protest against the reactionary composition and the transparent proceedings of courts and denazification committees the Communist Party of Germany withdrew its representatives from these bodies already at the beginning of 1948.

Harold Zink, the chief historian of the US High Commissioner in Germany wrote about the result of denazification in the American zone:

"... the activity of many German courts was so unsatisfactory and even scandalous that the denazification proceedings soon had to be stopped ...

"Nominal nazis were often more severely punished than the most active nazi leaders. Influential nazis in a number of cases were able to have their matters dealt with without any stir ...

"The worst aspect of the whole denazification program which was carried through both by the American military government and the Germans was perhaps the fact that it allowed some of the most notorious nazis to escape from it."

These facts were also widely used by the "old comrades" from the Wilhelmstrasse. With the benevolent toleration of the competent occupation authorities and the generous support of the West German authorities

they, for example, organized a comprehensive whitewashing campaign. With dubious declarations and statements on their honour as well as with false affidavits they praised each other as ardent anti-nazis and fearless resistance fighters. If one took evidence of this kind for gospel truth one would be confronted with the unsolvable task of explaining how it could happen that the apparatus of the nazi Foreign Office while committing a large number of atrocious crimes worked with clockwork precision until the last hour. A leading role in the action "whitewashing of the Wilhelmstrasse diplomats" was played by the Pfeiffer brothers, Erich Kordt, Herwarth von Bittenfeld and Hasso von Etzdorf. They, however, did not organize these whitewashing campaigns for individual persons only. It was rather their clear tactics to completely exonerate the other nazis by shifting all responsibility above all on Hitler, the leadership of the NSDAP and Ribbentrop.

In the Wilhelmstrasse trial, for example, an attempt was made through a well-organized appearance of witnesses to whitewash the heavily incriminated State Secretary Ernst von Weizsäcker and some leading officials in the Foreign Office. It would go beyond the purpose of this documentation to enumerate each case of "mutual comradesly aid". The result of this aid should be assessed with the resigning words of the British historian Michael Balfour which are also fully valid for the diplomats of the Third Reich:

"Most of the attempts to remove well-known nazis from their positions in society were not destined to be permanent." (Michael Balfour: *Vier-Mächte-Kontrolle in Deutschland, 1945–1946*, Düsseldorf, 1959, p. 389)

Ribbentrop Diplomats and Incriminated Nazi Officials Occupy Key Positions in the Foreign Service of the Federal Republic

The real hour of the Ribbentrop diplomats and incriminated officials of the fascist Reich government came with the foundation of the West German separatist state. In the name of the government of the western zone state, Federal Chancellor Adenauer had already declared in a policy statement before the West German parliament on 20 September 1949 that he was thinking of implementing the aggressive foreign policy program of his government with the support of the incriminated servants of the Third Reich. With the demagogic formula that the alleged division of the people into two classes—politically unobjectionable and objectionable persons—was to be overcome and that the government as early as possible would examine the question of an amnesty, the

West German head of government gave his general consent to the extensive integration of the more or less incriminated officials of the fascist state and party apparatus in all offices and authorities of the West German separatist state.

The consequences of this policy become clear when one scrutinizes the policy of occupying the key positions in the Foreign Office of the West German Federal Republic. In view of the protests of the West German and international public, the Federal Chancellery was forced to make the following admission on 25 April 1950:

"The Federal Chancellor has ordered a careful investigation of the reproaches made that a large part of the officials in the Foreign Office were members of the NSDAP or *Altherren* (alumni) associations. As a result of this investigation the Federal Chancellery announces that in the four working groups now acting in the field of foreign affairs and the merger of which is imminent (first, the organization office for consular economic representations, secondly, the liaison committee with the Allied High Commission, thirdly, the Protocol Department, and fourthly, the Office for Peace Questions) there are altogether eight officials in leading positions of whom four were members of the NSDAP and only one of them a member of the *Altherren* association. In addition there are 23 section heads of whom 10 were members of the NSDAP and four were members of an *Altherren* association. In any case, those officials who were members of the NSDAP were checked on how they behaved during the Hitler period after the publication by the Federal Chancellery. It was ascertained that none of them were active in any way." (Keesing's Archives of the Present, Vol. 20, 1950, p. 2352)

This statement is characteristic of a whole series of official denials that incriminated nazi officials were given preference in employment by the Foreign Office of the Federal Republic in the following years, characteristic not least because of their primitive mendacity.

Who were the officials who according to the explanation of the Federal Chancellery were never "active in any way" during the Hitler period?

Apart from the officials of the so-called German Office for Peace Questions the criminal activities of which during the nazi period were just dealt with, there were as leading officials in the liaison committee with the Allied High Commission, the current West German ambassador in London, Herbert Blankenhorn, and since 1949 the ambassador of the Federal Republic in Buenos Aires, Dr. Mohr. In addition to them the nazi diplomats Dittmann, von Marchtaler and Trütschler von Falkenstein held leading positions and they were all incriminated to the same degree as Blankenhorn and Dr. Mohr for their participation in nazi and war crimes. Blankenhorn's deputy, for example, Legation Counsellor Dittmann, was a close associate of Ribbentrop

in the Nazi Foreign Ministry where he headed the Personnel Department for Higher Officials. Among others it was one of his tasks responsibly to draft the reports on the activities of the notorious *Einsatzkommandos* (operational commandos). Trütschler von Falkenstein, who mainly dealt with basic questions of the nazi foreign propaganda in the Foreign Office from 1940 onwards, was appointed by Ribbentrop as secretary of the "European Committee" in 1944 which was responsible for planning the "new order of Europe". Von Marchtaler, a protégé of Neurath, was known as a particularly active nazi even among the old comrades in the Foreign Ministry.

A similar picture of nazi penetration could be seen in the Protocol Department headed by Herwarth von Bittenfeld and in the organization office for consular and economic representations abroad headed by Dr. Haas.

Federal Chancellor Adenauer countered criticism among the West German public that incriminated nazis were concentrated in the above-mentioned departments of the Federal Chancellory with the following statement on 21 April 1950:

"One cannot establish a Foreign Office without the help of people who have a certain routine and certain experiences in this field."

Moreover, according to the Federal Chancellor, the division of the German people into the just and the unjust should finally be overcome. The head of the organization office for consular and economic representations abroad, Dr. Haas, on the same day interpreted the statement by his government chief in the following way, that one could not in the long run do without the "old experienced forces" from the Reich Foreign Ministry and other central fascist authorities. Dr. Haas heatedly regretted that it was impossible for the time being to integrate more than a certain percentage of the "old experienced officials" into the new organs of the Federal Office of Foreign Affairs, and he demanded that the competent authorities and the West German public "relax their views" about membership of the NSDAP and the Ribbentrop ministry in order to facilitate the establishment of the new West German Foreign Office.

With the resolute support of Blankenhorn, Herwarth von Bittenfeld, Dr. Mohr and other "old comrades", incriminated Ribbentrop diplomats and officials of other central fascist authorities entered the newly-founded departments and institutions of the Foreign Office.

It is characteristic of the systematic character of this nazi penetration for which the West German government and Federal Chancellor Adenauer took full responsibility on several occasions, that the personnel department of the central office for the Foreign Service in the Federal Chancellory and of the later Foreign Office were a domain of incriminated nazi officials right from the beginning. After nazi diplomat Dr. Haas, who after 1950 among others headed the Personnel

and Administrative Department of the Office for Foreign Affairs in the Federal Chancellory and in cooperation with the former head of the Personnel Department of the Reich Foreign Ministry, Hans Schröder and the nazi diplomat Dr. Melchers, had provided for the systematic integration of incriminated nazi diplomats in the Foreign Office, had to leave his post, he was replaced by another Ribbentrop diplomat, Dr. Dittmann. The latter, a former close associate of the nazi foreign minister, enjoyed the special confidence of Dr. Adenauer who had initiated his appointment as deputy head of the liaison committee to the Allied High Commission and gave him permanent access to him. Dr. Dittmann used this position of trust in order to continue on a large scale the integration of his old nazi comrades in the Foreign Service which had been started by Dr. Haas. Also the resignation of Dr. Dittmann was forced only by massive protests from home and abroad, which caused the investigation committee of the Bundestag in Bonn—established on 24 October 1951—to warn against a "further employment of Dr. Dittmann in the Foreign Service" of the Federal Republic.

The point of view of the parliamentary investigation committee did not prevent Dr. Adenauer in any way from appointing Dr. Dittmann as "observer" at the United Nations and arranging that this nazi diplomat occupied the post of consul general of the Federal Republic in Hongkong from August 1953 onwards.

The successor to Dr. Dittmann in the leadership of the Personnel Department of the Foreign Office in Bonn was nazi diplomat Dr. Peter Pfeiffer, until protests of the West German and international public forced his suspension. Dr. Pfeiffer already in his capacity as head of the "German Office for Peace Questions" which was competent for the organizational and personnel preparation of the later Foreign Office, had paved the way for numerous nazi diplomats to enter the future Foreign Service of the Federal Republic.

The circle of incriminated officials of the nazi state taken under his wings included among others Herwarth von Bittenfeld and the head of the Protocol Department in the Bonn Foreign Office, Dr. Schwarzmann.

The personnel policy of integrating old nazis in the Bonn Foreign Office as pursued by these nazi diplomats under the immediate supervision of Federal Chancellor Adenauer in a very short time led to the complete penetration of the Foreign Service of the Federal Republic with incriminating nazi diplomats and high ranking officials from other central authorities of the nazi state, the big majority of whom also had functions in the NSDAP and its organizations. On 12 March 1953 the Bavarian radio station considered it necessary to direct attention to this kind of "personnel policy in the Foreign Office" after reports had repeatedly been published by the international and

West German press on the concentration of former NSDAP members and nazi officials in the Foreign Office of the Federal Republic.

It proceeded from the investigations based on these reports that some 85 per cent of the leading officials in the Foreign Office of the Federal Republic at that time were members of the nazi party. This was an even higher percentage of NSDAP members in leading positions than was ever registered by Ribbentrop's Foreign Office. In detail the investigations of the Bavarian radio station revealed the following picture:

In the personnel department headed by nazi diplomats Dr. Dittmann or Dr. Pfeiffer, among 19 leading officials 18 were former nazi diplomats and 14 were members of the NSDAP. The 10 leading officials of the Political Department, which was headed at that time by the ambassador of the Federal Republic in London, Herbert Blankenhorn, were all former members of the Ribbentrop ministry and of the NSDAP. Among the eight leading officials of the International Department there were seven members of the fascist Foreign Ministry and seven members of the NSDAP. Among eight leading officials of the Legal Department there were six officials of the Ribbentrop ministry and five members of the Hitler party. The other departments show the same concentrations of nazi diplomats and NSDAP members.

The revelations of the Bavarian radio station and of a part of the West German and international press caused such a wave of indignation that the Adenauer government was forced to resort to an extraordinary appeasement action. On 25 March 1952 State Secretary Walter Hallstein in the Foreign Office had to make a statement on the personnel policy of the Foreign Office which in general confirmed the reports in the integration of nazis in key positions of the Bonn Foreign Office and in the Foreign Service of the Federal Republic which had leaked to the public, but at the same time this statement contained a lie of astonishing impertinence.

Professor Hallstein admitted that out of the total of 445 high-ranking officials and staff of the Foreign Office 137 of them, that is, 31 per cent, had worked in the Ribbentrop ministry and that 154 of them, that is 35 per cent, were members of the NSDAP. Among the 75 Ministerialdirektoren¹⁾, Ministerialdirigenten¹⁾ and Section chiefs there were 46 officials of the fascist Foreign Office and 49 members of the nazi party. Professor Hallstein made the following statement on all these facts:

"I do not attach great value to all these figures. If all these 65 per cent were nazis the result would be monstrous. Indeed, it would be so if only one per cent were nazis. For this is a point on which we agree with all our critics, that anyone who is incriminated, through cooperation with the nazi reg-

ime, must not be employed in the public service, let alone in the service of the Foreign Office.

But it is a piece of German history that many Germans were members of the party and it seems to me to be an impossible demand that there must not be any former party member in the Foreign Office."

(Keesing's Archives of the Present, Vol. XXII, p. 3402)

With this statement, which was to give the impression that the reappointed nazi diplomats could only be blamed for their nominal membership in the NSDAP, a most highly official language regulation was given out by which all future attacks against the incriminated nazi diplomats, officials of other central fascist authorities and nazi activists employed in the Foreign Service of the Federal Republic should be countered.

According to this declaration it was no longer to be doubted right from the beginning what the results of the inquiries of the investigation committee of the Bonn Bundestag appointed in October 1951 would be like. The investigation committee in which the CDU was represented among others by M. P. Eugen Gerstenmaier, an agent of the foreign propaganda of the nazi Foreign Ministry and Gestapo informer, right from the beginning aimed at camouflaging the nazi penetration of the Foreign Service of the Federal Republic, and at minimizing or simply denying it. In this spirit the investigations were delayed and when the final report was submitted by the investigation committee to the Bonn parliament on 22 October 1952, the questions

"were or are persons employed in the Foreign Service, in particular in the Foreign Office, whose behaviour during the national socialist dictatorial regime is suited to endangering in future the confidence at home and abroad in the democratic development of the Federal Republic of Germany?" (German Bundestag, 234th session, Bonn, Wednesday, 22 October 1952)

had to be answered in the affirmative, but on behalf of the Bundestag, however, any concrete conclusions with regard to the future personnel policy of the government, in particular in the field of the Foreign Service, were most carefully avoided.

With the statement of Federal Chancellor Adenauer in the debate of the report of 22 October 1952,

"I think we should now stop sniffing about for nazis. For you can be assured that, if we begin with it, nobody will know where to stop." (German Bundestag, 234th session, Bonn, Wednesday, 22 October 1952)

the purely propagandist function of the parliamentary comedy of the investigation committee was once again revealed. With it a clear threat was also made towards all those who continued to believe that they must condemn Bonn's preference for the employment of incriminated servants of the Third Reich in top positions not only in the Foreign Service.

From all the facts on the personnel policy of the For-

¹⁾ Cf. list of Civil Service grades at the end of this volume.

eign Office of the Federal Republic it results without doubt that the key positions of the Foreign Office are held by former officials of the fascist Reich government and nazi activists who were more or less incriminated by their nazi record. In the session of the Bundestag of 22 October 1952 Federal Chancellor Adenauer underlined this fact with his typical cynical frankness by saying, among other things, that "one cannot build up a Foreign Office if one does not have people at least at first in leading positions who know something about the matter from their former activities." (op. cit.)

With this statement Adenauer was undoubtedly not thinking of the organizing abilities of nazi diplomats and officials alone. What was important for him was to make use of the abilities of the incriminated servants of the Third Reich in formulating and implementing the aggressive foreign policy of reviving German imperialism in West Germany. Just as the ruling circles of West Germany resumed the traditional expansion and hegemony plans of German imperialism so were they in need of the same tools. The continuity in the personnel in the Foreign Office reflects the continuity in political aims and methods.

Incriminated Officials of the Nazi State Determine West German Foreign Policy

Since Adenauer the foreign political doctrine of West German governments has been formulated in its essential elements by people who during the period of Hitler fascism, independently of whether they worked in the Ribbentrop ministry or not, identified themselves with the aggressive program of fascist German imperialism, who rendered various services to the nazi regime and propagated its inhuman outlook. The following examples will make this clear:

Since the foundation of the West German separatist state the ruling circles of West German have openly pursued the aim of revising the results of the Second World War and organizing the new order of Europe under their hegemony.

This dangerous program found its expression in the official foreign political doctrine worked out by experts of the Foreign Office. Professors Hallstein, Grewe and Kaufmann had an essential share in formulating this program. Professor Hallstein was brought into the Federal Chancellory and the later Foreign Office as state secretary by Federal Chancellor Dr. Adenauer himself on American recommendation. Here he very soon spread his influence on all essential fields of the foreign policy of the Federal Republic. Decisive for the foreign political doctrine of the Federal Republic was, however, the systematically propagated idea of Hallstein of arriving at a new order in "Europe up to the Urals", via the intermediate stage of an integrated Western

Europe under the hegemony of West German imperialism.

The British news agency Reuter published the contents of a recorded speech by Professor Hallstein at Washington's Georgetown University on 19 March 1952 in which the West German state secretary gave the following answers to a number of questions:

Question: "You spoke about the Schuman plan and the integration of Europe this evening. Would you care to define the term 'Europe'?"

Answer: "When I attended school I learned that Europe extends in an Eastern direction up to the Ural mountains."

Question: "Do you mean this when you speak of the integration of Europe?"

Answer: "Yes, that is what we are driving at."

Professor Hallstein developed detailed plans down to the recent period for implementing this aggressive aim, the main idea of which is in any case the implementation of a hegemony position for West German imperialism. On 20 January 1968 Hallstein, for example in Rome, developed in detail a concept for a West European political community the core of which is to open up for West German imperialism access to atomic weapons through a "strategic planning community (European general staff) for conventional and nuclear arms", and a "European armaments community" as well as the "beginning of nuclear defence".

With all his energy Hallstein worked for the inclusion of the West German state in the imperialist pact system to implement his doctrinaire plans of a "new order in Europe" under the dominance of West German imperialism. He has an essential share in working out the so-called "Treaty of Germany" in which the West German government sacrificed essential rights of its sovereignty in return for permission to rearm militarily, at first, however, with conventional weapons. In the sphere of the Paris Treaties Professor Hallstein closely cooperated with Professor Wilhelm Grewe and Herbert Blankenhorn, the Federal Republic's ambassador in London.

The cooperation between Hallstein and Grewe also proved its value in another decisive question for formulating the foreign political program of West German imperialism. When the then Bonn Foreign Minister Dr. Heinrich von Brentano at a conference of ambassadors on 8 and 9 December 1955 announced the illegal and presumptuous threat of the West German government to apply political and economic sanctions against any state which is prepared to normalize its relations with the Socialist German state, the sovereign German Democratic Republic, as foreign policy doctrine of the West German government, Professors Hallstein and Grewe were the spiritual fathers of this unexampled blackmailing manoeuvre.

Like Hallstein, Grewe has until most recently made repeated programmatic statements on West Germany's policy directed against the *status quo* in Europe. Both

are bitter enemies of the nuclear non-proliferation treaty. Grewe opposes the treaty because the possession of nuclear arms is considered by him as a necessary element of an extremely chauvinistic concept of sovereignty as proclaimed by him which is also in line with the expansionist aims of West German monopoly capital. Hallstein opposes the treaty because he sees the treaty as a confirmation of the inviolability of the results of the Second World War. The aggressive obsession which characterizes the doctrinaire statements by Hallstein and Grewe can only be understood if one looks a bit more closely into the past of these two men:

Hallstein distinguished himself as an active propagandist of nazi ideas as a senior lecturer at the Universities of Rostock and Frankfurt-on-Main. The fascist Reich government honoured Hallstein's loyalty by appointing him as "legal expert" during negotiations, for instance, with fascist Italy. The national socialist regime made it possible for Hallstein to visit neutral Switzerland several times during the war. Here Hallstein obviously got into contact with American authorities which resulted in his appointment as visiting professor in the United States in 1948 and which led to important American recommendations concerning his participation in working out the foreign policy of the Federal Republic.

Professor Grewe as a regular staff member on numerous prominent publications of the nazi regime before 1945 proved his value as an important intellectual originator and representative of the fascist policy of aggression. The nazis thanked Grewe for his extremely unscrupulous justification of their violations of international law and war crimes by exempting him from military service and a quickly rising academic career.

It was part of the foreign political doctrine of the Federal Republic right from the beginning to wage a massive campaign against the agreement of the main powers of the anti-Hitler coalition and the results of the Second World War confirmed by them in a binding form. It was chiefly the work of Professor Kaufmann, for many years the legal adviser of the Federal Chancellery as well as the Foreign Office, to have brought all these attacks together in an enclosed doctrinal system. This "crown jurist" of the federal government caused an international sensation when he described the Potsdam Agreement as an "empty hull" and "invalid" during the illegal trial of the German Communist Party at the Federal Constitutional Court in Karlsruhe. The attacks formulated by Professor Kaufmann on the agreements of the main powers of the anti-Hitler coalition have long since been supported by the nazi diplomats and officials in the key positions of the Foreign Service of the Federal Republic as is proved by the following statement of State Secretary Georg Ferdinand Duckwitz in the Foreign Office in an article of the West German journal *Aussenpolitik* of September 1968:

"The Federal Republic of Germany is not a partner or party to the Potsdam Agreements, it is not bound in international law to those parts concerning Germany, in particular part 3 of the communique, and it is not legally obligated to the four victorious powers. The Potsdam Agreements are a *res intcui alios acta* for Germany and do not entail any immediate legal commitments for the Federal Republic."

Like Professors Hallstein and Grewe, Professor Kaufmann had an essential share in the fixation of the Paris Treaties. Kaufmann was above all responsible for the attempts to justify pseudo-legally the extension of the NATO treaty to the German Democratic Republic. Like Professors Hallstein and Grewe, Professor Kaufmann gathered his experiences in supporting the aggressive aims of German imperialism to a considerable extent before 1945. Professor Kaufmann began his legal career by publishing his book *The Nature of International Law and the clausula rebus sic stantibus* in 1911. Shortly before the beginning of the war of annexation of Prussian-German militarism he legally systematized the right of the stronger which, among others, included the right to "legal acts rescinding treaties", that means the violation of a treaty in the name of an alleged "basic right of states to self-preservation". With his favourite maxim "The state may do what it is able to do" the jurist Kaufmann presented himself as a useful tool both to the imperial Reich government and the ruling circles of the Weimar Republic. Professor Kaufmann as "legal adviser" of the Reich government took part in the long-term planning and "legal justification" of the policy of annexation of German imperialism against Austria and Poland. The merits gained in this connection secured Professor Kaufmann the benevolence of the nazi regime despite his Jewish origin and his inclusion in the small circle of so-called "privileged Jews". In this capacity Professor Kaufmann, who moved to Holland in 1934, received a considerable pension from the fascist Reich government until towards the end of the war. Professor Kaufmann remained in permanent contact with the Foreign Office in Berlin via the envoy Dr. Rödiger who was a friend of his. Visitors who talked to Professor Kaufmann in his Dutch exile were always surprised to hear him defend the aggressive policy of German imperialism with the same reasons that were put forward by the national socialist regime.

It is thus quite obvious why the nazis wanted to save the life of such a tested supporter of their outlook since he had written sentences like the following in one of his books years ago before the events discussed here:

"War is an internationally legal necessity which never can and never should be done away with by courts of arbitration."

"Not the community of men of free will but victorious war is the social ideal." (Kaufmann's cross-

examination, protocol, pp. 7295 ff, Final indictment in the trial of the Wilhelmstrasse diplomats, Point V of indictment 39, 39a, 40)

The old nazis in the Foreign Service of the Federal Republic were not least able to exert an essential influence in a field which is of great significance for the foreign policy of the West German state: the field of training junior staff for the diplomatic service.

When the training centre for the West German diplomatic junior staff was opened on 12 April 1950, the Ribbentrop diplomat Dr. Pfeiffer was appointed to direct it. Dr. Pfeiffer saw to it that the permanent and temporary staff of the diplomats' school were largely recruited from circles of the former nazi Foreign Ministry. Among the lecturers at that time there were, apart from Professor Kaufmann and Professor Carlo Schmid who was also incriminated for his past under the nazi regime, nazi diplomats Erich and Theo Kordt and van Rintelen. Erich Kordt was SS-Obersturmbannführer and member of the staff at the Reich Main Security Office. As a close associate of Ribbentrop and as head of the minister's bureau in the Foreign Office E. Kordt was informed about all developments within the framework of fascist foreign policy and he was personally responsible for the organization and implementation of numerous criminal acts. His brother, Theo Kordt, played a key role in the espionage organization set up by the Reich labour service. The inclusion of incriminated nazi diplomats and officials in the training of West German diplomats still continues today, as is proved by the appointment of Hans Ivar Maenss as head of the diplomats' training centre at Speyer.

The disastrous influence of heavily incriminated nazi diplomats and fanatical activists of the nazi regime, as that of the Kordt brothers and of Dr. Pfeiffer on forming the world picture and the mentality of the coming diplomatic generation is reflected in the daily foreign political practice of the West German Federal Republic. The "younger people" in the Foreign Service of the imperialist German state in most instances represent the expansionist program of the ruling circles of West Germany towards foreign countries in the same arrogant way and with the same cynical contempt for the vital interests of other nations and of the norms of international law as their teachers and superiors who began their careers in the diplomatic service as passionate and obedient servants of the nazi regime. It is also an open secret in Bonn that the neo-nazi NPD enjoys the same sympathies among the younger generation of the Foreign Service, as, for example, among officers of the Bundeswehr and especially among younger officials of numerous other Bonn ministries and offices. This makes unmistakably clear how fateful it would be to lend an ear to certain official West German arguments and calm oneself with the idea that the nazi diplomats in the Foreign Service of the Federal Republic will in any

case leave diplomatic life one after the other. Their new brown seed has come up.

An analysis of outstanding foreign policy events in which West Germany had a share clearly shows the leading role of the old nazis in Bonn foreign policy.

1950 – The West German delegation to the Schuman plan conference is headed by Professor Walter Hallstein. Nazi diplomat Marchtaler takes part in the activities of the negotiation committee

1952 – The deputy head of the West German Plevin plan delegation is nazi diplomat Albrecht von Kessel

1954 – Professor Wilhelm Grewe makes his appearance as plenipotentiary of the federal government at the Berlin Conference of Foreign Ministers.

1954 – Adenauer is accompanied to the London Conference from 28 September to 10 October 1954, among others, by the following officials incriminated because of their nazi past:

Professor Hallstein, Envoy Herwarth von Bittenfeld, Professor W. Grewe, Legation Counsellor Dr. Pauls, Legation Counsellor Krapf.

1954 – Among Adenauer's company during his second trip to America are the following officials with a nazi record:

State Secretary Professor W. Hallstein, Envoy Herwarth von Bittenfeld, Federal Press Secretary Felix von Eckart, Regierungsdirektor Kilb, and Legation Counsellor Pauls.

This enumeration could be continued down to recent date. Also Kiesinger and Brandt obviously cannot get along without their nazis when going abroad.

The hand of the nazi diplomats is evident in many agreements, notes and other documents of the West German government: Ribbentrop diplomat Dr. G. A. Sonnenhol was a head of Section Inland II and as liaison man of the Foreign Ministry with the Reich Main Security Office bore a considerable responsibility for the cooperation of this ministry in the "final solution of the Jewish question", as head of Department I in the West German Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation he contributed greatly to the legal fixing of the West German position in the Common Market of the EEC states. The nazi diplomats, Envoy von Kessel, Ministerialdirektor Duckwitz and others were called into the preparations of the West German delegation to the Geneva Foreign Ministers' Conference in 1959. They were responsible for the numerous manoeuvres by which the West German government attempted to torpedo the work of this important international conference.

With the establishment and extension of the Bonn diplomatic apparatus the applications of the Ribbentrop diplomats increased correspondingly.

Whereas at the beginning certain considerations had to be shown for reactions in the individual countries which were expected to accredit incriminated na-

zis as ambassadors of the Federal Republic, nevertheless the "experienced cadres" were gradually and systematically given key positions in the Foreign Service. If one looks through the lists of the first West German ambassadors and other responsible diplomats so one will find everywhere the names of incriminated nazi activists. A cursory glance at Bonn's embassies in the capitals of the three western powers, for example, shows that here almost without interruption one nazi replaced another.

Embassy in Washington

1955–1958

Dr. Heinz Krekeler, IG-Farben

1955–1962

Professor Wilhelm Greve, nazi diplomat

1962–1968

Karl-Heinrich Knapstein, NSDAP member

1968

Dr. Rolf Pauls, Major in the general staff of the Hitler Wehrmacht

Embassy in London

1955–1968

Dr. Hans Heinrich Herwarth von Bittenfeld,

nazi diplomat

1961–1965

Dr. Hasso von Etzdorf, nazi diplomat

1965

Herbert Adolf Heinz Blankenhorn, nazi diplomat

Embassy in Paris

1955–1958

Baron Dr. Vollrath von Maltzahn, nazi diplomat

1958–1963

Herbert Blankenhorn, nazi diplomat

1963–1968

Dr. Manfred Klaiber, nazi diplomat

1968–

Baron Sigismund von Braun, nazi diplomat

Investigations into the personnel of Bonn's representations in other countries lead to the same result and convincingly prove that old fascists in influential positions are representing the policy of the West German federal government in foreign countries. Here is still another example:

On 8 December 1955 Foreign Minister Dr. von Brentano opened a two-day conference of ambassadors in which 24 diplomatic representatives of West Germany in foreign countries took part. The conference served deliberations on the foreign political situation after the Geneva Conference of the Big Powers and ended with the announcement of the notorious Hallstein doctrine.

A glance at the list of the participants in this conference also gives information on the pro-fascist personnel policy of the federal government:

Ambassadors and Envoys	Country	Activity before 1945
Krekeler, Dr. Heinz	United States	industry
von Maltzahn, Baron Vollrath	France	Foreign Office
Herwarth von Bittenfeld	Great Britain	Foreign Office
Duckwitz, Georg Ferdinand	Denmark	Foreign Office
Kordt, Dr. Theo	Greece	Foreign Office
Dr. Pfeiderer	Yugoslavia	Foreign Office
von Broich-Oppert	Norway	Foreign Office
Dr. Seelos	Portugal	Foreign Office
Herbert, Dr. Siegfried	Sweden	Foreign Office
Müller-Graf	Austria	Foreign Office
Dr. Haas	Turkey	Foreign Office
Dr. Dankwort	Canada	Foreign Office
Prof. Dr. Meyer	India	Foreign Office
Felix von Eckardt	United Nations	Foreign Office
Blankenhorn, Herbert	NATO	Foreign Office
Dr. G. Rödel	Head of the Berlin Office	Foreign Office

An examination of the staff lists of the West German embassies in 1963 shows a similar picture. Of 97 West German embassies 64 were headed by former nazi diplomats.

Another 12 Bonn ambassadors were active in other institutions of Hitler's Civil Service. These examples again prove that the employment of nazis in the Bonn Foreign Service is not a requirement of the new organization as was so gladly stressed at the time of the establishment of the Foreign Office but a characteristic of the system.

The same is true of the development of this state of affairs in the present period under Federal Foreign Minister Willy Brandt as is proved by the staff list of his ministry shown in the appendix.

When considering the activity of the West German diplomats abroad one can state that there are many points of contact with regard to their aims and their methods as compared to the activities of the diplomats of the Third Reich. They direct their diplomatic manoeuvres above all against the Socialist camp and in particular against the GDR. They seek in every way possible to put through their extortionate Hallstein doctrine. One example should be mentioned in this connection: The Bonn ambassador to Egypt, Dr. Walter Becker, called on the government in Cairo before his departure to the ambassadors' conference in Bonn on 8 December 1955 in order "to prevent the planned establishment of an Egyptian trade representation with consular powers in East Berlin. The federal government in this case would probably recall its ambassador from Cairo" (*Der Tag*, 12 December 1955).

Although still reserved this was the well-known language of threat and force, as practised by Hitler in

order to make the governments of third states accept his aggressive policy.

There is also a number of examples since the foundation of the Kiesinger-Strauss government that this government is exerting economic and political pressure on the governments of Afro-Asian and Latin American states to enforce its claim to sole representation of the German people.

The guiding principles and instructions for the implementation of this policy were once again clearly outlined by West German Foreign Minister Willy Brandt at a meeting of West German heads of mission in African countries south of the Sahara in Abidjan on 16 May 1968. Brandt declared:

"We understand it when the African countries want to develop their trade and cultural exchange with the other part of Germany. We warn, however, against a misuse of this interest. Naturally the federal government cannot renounce the maintenance of its interests. Every country is free to choose its friends. This also holds true for the Federal Republic of Germany. This foundation of our relations with the countries of Africa must be clear to all sides." (*Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung, Bonn, 17 May 1968*)

Even earlier Brandt had threatened:

"If the nations friendly to Bonn and the countries of the Third World should recognize the government in East Berlin, then the Hallstein doctrine would be applied with all its negative effects." (*Frankfurter Allgemeine, 4 January 1967*)

The Bonn Foreign Office headed by Brandt is operating according to this directive.

Thus,

- the ambassador of the West German Federal Republic to Kenya, Dr. Hans Ulrich von Schweinitz, according to DPA of 14 August 1967 declared that the West German government still considered it an unfriendly act if any government established diplomatic relations with the GDR;
- the West German ambassador to the Republic of Zambia, as reported by DPA from Lusaka on 26 July 1967, sought to put pressure on the government of Zambia under the pretext that even "the sending of an official delegation at the invitation of East Berlin was an insult to the federal government";
- State Secretary Günter Diehl on 24 March 1969 in connection with the trip of State Secretary Duckwitz to India stated that the federal government "now as before considers the recognition of the GDR by another state as an unfriendly act."

Similar examples could be mentioned to prove that diplomats of the Federal Republic have remained true to their experiences from the nazi state and that they have every opportunity to do so.

Nazi Diplomats Carry on Ideological Diversion against Socialism

A considerable number of former nazi diplomats are back in leading positions not only in the Foreign Office of the Federal Republic but also in numerous non-governmental institutions, as, for example, in the West German societies and associations for certain countries, the *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik* (German Foreign Policy Society), the "Goethe-Institute", the *Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung* (Friedrich Ebert Foundation), and the *Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen* (Institute of Foreign Relations).

Many of them had to be retired prematurely from their ambassadorial and other leading posts by the Foreign Office to safeguard the foreign political prestige of the West German state.

One of them is the 2nd chairman of the Middle and Near East Association who was responsible for the Arab states, the retired envoy Dr. Fritz Grobba.

Grobba, former head of the ill-famed "Grobba Special Staff" in the fascist Foreign Office, played a leading role in the organization of the fifth columns. His task was the political and organizational preparation for the occupation of Arab states by Hitler. No one is more predestined for disruptive activities against the Arab states than this nazi diplomat and "Middle East expert".

"Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik"

The *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik* founded in 1955 is an instrument for the implementation for the expansionist plans of West German monopoly capital, for the political and economic undermining of other states. The managing vice-president of the organization is nazi diplomat Dr. Gerhard von Walther who was West German ambassador in Ankara and Moscow.

The importance attributed to the *Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik* by the federal government, in particular the Foreign Office, is proved by the fact that Hallstein is and Grewe was a member of the presidium of this society.

Members of the extended presidium of this society, as "representatives of the Bundestag", are Federal Chancellor Kurt-Georg Kiesinger and the former federal minister and representative of revanchist organizations, Hans Joachim von Merkatz. The former representative of the fascist foreign public law and international law, von Merkatz, is today a lecturer of the University of Bonn and president of the revenge-seeking institution *Ostdeutscher Kulturrat* (East German Cultural Council).

A large part of the institutions founded in West Germany for ideological diversion in the service of the

policy of conquest of West German imperialism are successor institutions to similar organizations of the nazi state and of imperialist Germany in the Weimar Republic. They have an important share in the propaganda of the West German state abroad.

The "Goethe Institute"

One of the most notorious institutions of this kind is the "Goethe Institute", the successor of the Goethe Institute founded in 1932 which was an integral part of the *Akademie zur wissenschaftlichen Erforschung und Pflege des Deutschtums*, *Deutsche Akademie* for short (Academy for Scientific Research and Promotion of Germandom) which was established in 1925. This *Deutsche Akademie* rendered good services to the fascist aggressors. The activities of the academy were declared by the nazi leaders as being important for the war and as a direct part of war planning. To guarantee systematic and coordinated activity abroad by the *Deutsche Akademie*, Ribbentrop and Goebbels signed an agreement on 22 October 1941, chapter IV of which states:

"The *Deutsche Akademie* is subordinate to the joint control of the Foreign Office and of the Reich Ministry of Information and Propaganda."

(DZA Potsdam, Foreign Office files, No. 48025)

The influence of the West German Foreign Office on such institutions as the "Goethe Institute" can above all be seen from the composition of their staff. Since the "Goethe-Institute" resumed its activities in July 1952 primarily former nazi diplomats have held the most important posts in the institute, men who had to be withdrawn from the official diplomatic service of the Federal Republic because of international protests. They include nazi diplomat and former Ambassador Peter H. Pfeiffer. Characteristic of the fanatical fascist Pfeiffer is his last telegram from Algiers where he was consul general of the fascist Reich. The telegram says, among others:

"City under artillery fire—this is my last telegram—long live the Führer—Pfeiffer." (From German Bundestag, 234th session, Bonn, Wednesday, 22 October 1952, p. 10,775)

In 1952 Pfeiffer became head of the Personnel Department and in 1954 inspector and head of the training system in the Foreign Office of the Federal Republic. This nazi diplomat has been president of the "Goethe Institute" since 1953.

A long-time member of the "Goethe Institute" in the influential position of vice-chairman of the board of trustees is nazi diplomat Dr. F. von Twadowski who was also decorated with the Grand Distinguished Service Cross of the Federal Republic.

Retired Ambassador von Twadowski entered the "Goethe Institute" with the experience gathered during his many years as head of the Cultural Depart-

ment of the fascist Foreign Office. In this capacity he outlined the cultural and political aims of the *Deutsche Akademie* and its "Goethe Institute" in 1936. The task of the *Deutsche Akademie* as one of the most important foreign propaganda instruments of the nazi regime was described by von Twadowski in a speech on the occasion of the annual conference of the *Deutsche Akademie* in 1936. He said:

... "that Germany is not again confronted with a situation, as it was the case in the world war, of being subject to the effects of a hostile intellectual world propaganda without being able to defend itself." (Cf. *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Akademie*, Munich, No. 4/January 1937, pp. 568–569)

Franz Thierfelder, a convinced supporter of fascist ideology is acting today as general secretary of the *Deutsche Akademie* and as a head of its "Goethe Institute" just as in Hitler's time. In 1951 the *Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen* also resumed its activity under the leadership of Thierfelder. In 1952 Thierfelder was able to state with satisfaction:

"Now, a part of the inheritance of the former *Deutsche Akademie* is again available and the Goethe Institute can start its work anew." (From *Deutschunterricht für Ausländer*, No. 1/Vol. 2, p. 2)

In the West German state Thierfelder represents the interests of the same forces who once before used the "Goethe Institute for the cultivation of the German language and culture in foreign countries", as it is called, to put through the aggressive policy of conquest of German imperialism. Thierfelder described this institution led by him in his publication *Die wirtschaftliche Bedeutung des Auslanddeutschtums* (The Economic Significance of Germandom Abroad) in 1939 when he stated

... "that the language is one of the sharpest weapons in the struggle of the peoples for power and influence." (Franz Thierfelder: *Die wirtschaftliche Bedeutung des Auslanddeutschtums*, 2nd edition, Stuttgart, 1939, p. 22)

The numerous Goethe institutes of the Federal Republic are today acting in this spirit abroad in order to prepare the soil for the expansionist plans of German monopoly capital under the cover of promoting the German language and culture.

The Attitude of Social Democratic Foreign Minister Brandt towards Filling the Foreign Office with Nazi Diplomats

The entry of the right-wing Social Democratic leaders in the CDU-CSU government made a further development of revanchism and neo-nazism in West Germany possible.

With the active participation, in particular of the chairman of the Social Democratic Party, Willy Brandt as "Federal Foreign Minister" the aggressive, expansionist and openly nationalist aspects of West German foreign policy have been and continue to be stepped up.

In this the West German government is making use of the old methods and traditions of imperialist foreign policy, only in a more subtle form.

Although Brandt might undoubtedly have had the possibility when taking over office, not one of the nazi diplomats has thus far been dismissed from the Foreign Office because of his fascist past during Brandt's term of office.

How highly he thinks of the qualities of his diplomats heavily incriminated because of their nazi past can be seen from the following statement: In his speech delivered when he took over the Foreign Office, Brandt said on 6 December 1966:

"I know there is much devotion to the cause, self-willed and outstanding heads here, and I would like to count on just their cooperation." (From the *Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung*, Bonn, No. 155, 9 December 1966)

In an interview with the *Bunte Illustrierte* of 16 September 1967 Brandt emphatically rejected the dismissal of "nazi activists" from the Bonn Foreign Office. Brandt said among them were "personalities we can be particularly proud of." And he added: "Anyone who succeeds in representing the Third Reich just as loyally as the Weimar Republic, the Federal Republic of Germany just as the Third Reich must all the more be able to represent the different developments of our democratic Germany in the world." (*Bunte Illustrierte*, 16 September 1967)

But Brandt not only identifies himself with the dangerous personnel policy of the Foreign Office under Adenauer and his own predecessors von Brentano and Schröder, he also continues their old aggressive foreign political course which includes the non-recognition of the present borders in Europe, the striving for nuclear weapons, the non-recognition of the German Democratic Republic as well as the dream of a "United Europe" under the predominance of the West German state and the abolition of the Socialist camp. Brandt said on this when taking over the Foreign Office:

"Nobody intends to throw well-tested things overboard . . . The Federal Republic must be strengthened in its present bonds and it will also be necessary to include new supports . . .

"Konrad Adenauer, Heinrich von Brentano and Gerhard Schröder created the present Foreign Office for old, unchangeable and new, changeable tasks, I feel obliged to all of them with human esteem and respect for their achievement." (*Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung*, No. 155, 9 December 1966)

There is no Bonn ministry today in which one finds such a concentration of former active nazis, above all in leading positions, as in the Bonn Foreign Office. It is the "merit" of Social Democratic Foreign Minister Brandt that more fascist diplomats were able to gain a foothold and climb into leading positions during his term of office. A number of former associates and good friends of Federal Chancellor Kiesinger obtained a firm footing in the Bonn Foreign Office. They include the present head of the Press and Information Office of the Federal Government, government spokesman and State Secretary Diehl who was appointed chief of the planning group in the Foreign Office in 1967. Diehl acquired his "qualification" for such a post as head of section and liaison official for propaganda stations in the fascist Foreign Ministry.

How much importance Brandt attaches to his own support by active nazis can be seen from the selection of his two state secretaries Lahr and Duckwitz.

Rolf Lahr, a former SA-Rottenführer and nazi party member from 1933, played a dirty role as Regierungsrat in the fascist Reich Economics Ministry and as a member of the management of the Reich industry group in the economic exploitation and looting of numerous European countries and in the plans for the subjugation and colonization of the Arab states by fascist Germany. Today Lahr is one of the most influential people in the Foreign Office which is due not least to his close relations with the Social Democratic Foreign Minister.

Georg Ferdinand Duckwitz, a member of the nazi party from 1933, official in the fascist Foreign Office and holder of the war service cross, 3rd class, was called back into the Bonn Foreign Office on the personal initiative of Brandt. He is one of Brandt's most influential advisers on questions of the so-called new eastern policy.

Under Brandt's administration of the Foreign Office a number of nazi diplomats and officials of the fascist Reich government became department heads, ambassadors or ambassadors-at-large thus moving into key positions of the Foreign Service of the Federal Republic.

- The former head of group II of the Protocol Department of the fascist Foreign Office, Horst Groepper, was promoted to Ministerialdirektor and to head of the Legal Department in 1968.
- The former head of section in the fascist Reich Economics Ministry, Dr. Günter Harkort, became Ministerialdirektor and head of the Department of Trade and Development Policy, and in 1969 was appointed state secretary in the Bonn Foreign Office.
- The fascist diplomat Dr. Luitpold Werz became Ministerialdirektor and head of the Cultural Department after he had represented the West German Federal Republic as ambassador to Indonesia.
- The former SS-Untersturmführer and official in the fascist Foreign Office, Dr. Hans-Dietrich Schmidt-

Horix, first had the post of ambassador-at-large and then was appointed ambassador in Lisbon in 1969. Further examples for the priority treatment of former nazi diplomats and officials by Brandt and their appointment as ambassadors of the West German state, in particular in Latin American countries where many nazis have gone into hiding and evaded punishment or in such fascist regimes as South Vietnam and South Africa, clearly demonstrate the personnel policy of the Foreign Office.

Brandt appointed Dr. Horst von Rom who worked in the fascist administration of justice during the nazi period as successor to the nazi diplomat, the ambassador to South Vietnam, Wilhelm Kopf, and nazi diplomat Dr. Gustav Adolf Sonnenhol as ambassador of the West German Federal Republic to the racist regime in South Africa, Brandt also did not shrink from giving the direction of his personnel department to a proved nazi diplomat: Dr. Georg Federer was appointed head of the personnel department of the Bonn Foreign Office in October 1967 and promoted to Ministerialdirektor in 1968. Nazi diplomat Dr. Friedrich Pfisterer is working as head of section in division Z in the Personnel Department of the Bonn Foreign Office.

Herwarth von Bittenfeld has been one of the main figures in the personnel policy of the Bonn Foreign Office since its foundation. He has worked in the Foreign Service of German imperialism since 1927. As early as 1950 he held the post of Ministerialdirigent in the Bonn Foreign Office and he is among those who are responsible for organizing the reinstatement and occupation of leading positions in the Bonn Foreign Office by nazi diplomats.

H. von Bittenfeld was recalled from his post as ambassador of the Federal Republic to Italy by Brandt in 1968 and put in charge of a committee to work out a "reform of the Foreign Service". Brandt himself spoke at the inaugural session of this "Herwarth" committee. Other members of the committee chaired by nazi diplomat von Bittenfeld are among others tested Ribbentrop experts Kopf and Diehl as well as the former "head of the finance department in the main economics department of the Reich commissioner for the occupied Norwegian areas and "financial expert" of the Reich plenipotentiary for Denmark, Hans-Clausen Korff.

As a former fascist financial expert Korff has ad-

vanced in the West German state to the rank of Ministerialdirektor and head of the Federal Budget Department in the Federal Ministry of Finance.

In its edition of 26 August 1968 the *Handelsblatt*, mouthpiece of the West German monopolies, wrote as follows about the chairman of this committee, von Bittenfeld:

"Herwarth (von Bittenfeld) has a considerable breadth of theoretical and practical experience so that one can hardly think of a more suitable personality than him to head the committee for the reorganization of the Foreign Service."

How closely Brandt feels united with his nazi diplomats can, for example, be seen from the protection granted to such a heavily incriminated nazi diplomat as Dr. Herbert Müller-Roschach, alias Müller. His career began in the Bonn Foreign Office in 1951. In 1954 Müller-Roschach advanced to reporting legation counsellor, 1st class. He was West German ambassador to Morocco, head of the West II Department of the Foreign Office, in 1963 became Ministerialdirektor and head of the planning group of the Foreign office, and in 1966 took up his post as ambassador of the Federal Republic to the dictatorial regime in Portugal.

Although a court proceeding has been opened against Müller-Roschach because he committed perjury by making a false affidavit about his activity in the so-called Jewish section of the fascist Foreign Office in April 1968, although it became known that he had changed his name and was involved in preliminary proceedings Roschach continued for some time to occupy his post as ambassador to Portugal. The Foreign Office headed by Brandt did everything possible to quash the proceedings against this Ribbentrop diplomat and to whitewash his nazi past.

To calm the international public the Brandt ministry was eventually forced to remove Müller-Roschach from his post as ambassador in Lisbon.

What benevolent care such incriminated nazi diplomats enjoy under a Social Democratic minister is shown by a declaration of the Bonn Foreign Office according to which Müller-Roschach now occupies the "leisurely" and "lucrative" post of ambassador-at-large.

In this capacity Müller-Roschach is at present member of the West German Commission for Oceanography and chairman of the committee on international questions within this body.

Concluding Remarks

The facts and figures available convey an alarming picture of the concentration of nazi elements in the Foreign Service of the Federal Republic. It is not a question of the use of some unimportant fellow-travelers of the nazi regime in some subordinate functions of the West German Foreign Ministry and its miscellaneous diplomatic branch offices as the official statements of the Federal Republic on the pro-nazi personnel policy in the Foreign Office time and again want to make the public believe. The Bonn nazi diplomats had an essential share in planning, organizing and implementing the Third Reich's criminal policy of aggression.

Despite the more or less great guilt of participation in serious and the most serious war crimes and crimes against peace and humanity which can be proved in almost each case the same persons again hold high and the highest positions in the Foreign Service of the Federal Republic. They take part in formulating the foreign political program of the West German state, they are responsible for the planning and organization of the decisive activities of the West German government for realizing this program and they represent the Federal Republic on various levels in international relations.

This fact alone is already a provocation against the peoples who suffered tremendously under the scourge of fascist German imperialism and who made great sacrifices of life and property to ban this scourge of humanity once for all. This fact is, however, also a warning indication of an entire system and this must be seen in two respects: The scandalous pro-nazi personnel policy of the Foreign Office is only part of the comprehensive renazification of the whole of public life in the Federal Republic. It is anything but accidental. Renazification is the prerequisite and at the same time the consequence of a policy which in view of an adventurist misjudgement of political realities wants to reverse the defeat of fascist German imperialism in the Second World War and is again striving for hegemony in Europe.

The continuity of the aggressive foreign political program of German imperialism which today deter-

mines the policy of the West German government in an ever more dangerous way conditions the continuity of the personnel. In fact, can a policy which aims at revising the present borders in Europe according to its "program" and in addition wants to get a finger on the nuclear trigger find any better supporters than the planners of aggression and arm-chair murderers from the offices of the Ribbentrop Ministry and the other authorities of the fascist Reich government?

The government of the Socialist German state has decisively broken with the disastrous foreign policy which until 1945 again and again made the German name an invective. The GDR pursues a profoundly peaceful and democratic foreign policy. Such a policy needs no "specialists" with a criminal brown-shirted past. On the contrary! Even if the regulations of a strict antifascist character according to which all state functions are to be performed by persons of integrity with a faultless past did not exist in the German Democratic Republic, the former Ribbentrop diplomats would be least of all in a position to successfully implement the foreign policy of the Socialist German state because the essence of this policy based on a strict observation of international rights, the safeguarding of peace and the development of cooperation on a basis of equality must necessarily remain alien to them.

Since the pro-nazi personnel policy of the Foreign Office in Bonn is only the consequence of a foreign political program which still aims at implementing the traditional expansionist aims of fascist German imperialism with "seasonable" methods it is not sufficient to demand only that the West German government end the scandalous protection of incriminated Ribbentrop diplomats and nazi activists in the diplomatic service of the Federal Republic.

Rather, the ruling circles of West Germany must be forced to make a realistic new beginning in their foreign policy. A foreign policy of the West German state that recognizes the *status quo* and the existing borders and that is prepared to enter into relations of peaceful co-existence with all European states can and will rather do without its brownshirted "experts" from the offices of the Third Reich.



Index of Ribbentrop Diplomats and Officials of Other Incriminated Institutions in the Bonn Foreign Service

Aschenbach, Dr. Ernst

before 1945: 1941–1943 counsellor in the Paris embassy afterwards legation counsellor in the Cultural Department of the Foreign Office

1937: NSDAP

today: member of the Bundestag
delegate to the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe

Adelmann von Adelmansfelden, Count Raban

before 1945: attaché in Prague (1938)

1942: vice-consul

1939: NSDAP (7055167)

SA-Rottenführer, battalion 7/136

today: legation counsellor first class of the Federal Republic at the General Secretariat of NATO

Adt, Dr. Guido

before 1945: Regierungsrat¹⁾ in Göring's Reich Aviation Ministry

today: counsellor first class in the embassy of the Federal Republic in Paris, France

Albers, Dr. Karl

before 1945: attaché at the representation of the Foreign Office with Karl Hermann Frank, the then "Generalgouverneur" for Poland in Krakau (Cracow)

1943: active in Ribbentrop's bureau

1933: NSDAP (1764477)

today: ambassador of the Federal Republic in San Salvador, El Salvador

Allardt, Dr. Helmut

before 1945: 1936 Economic Department of the For-

eign Office in Teheran, Copenhagen and Ankara as Hitler diplomat

1933: Marine-SA

today: ambassador of the Federal Republic in Moscow

Almsick, Dr. Wilhelm Helmut van

before 1945: 1941 head of section in the "Office of the Reich governor for the Sudetengau" (Czechoslovakia)

1943 in a "procurement commando" in Warsaw, Poland

today: ambassador of the Federal Republic to Guatemala

Altenburg, Dr. Günter

before 1945: Ministerialdirigent and head of the Information Department of the Foreign Office, envoy and "plenipotentiary of the Reich" in Greece

1935: NSDAP

today: general secretary of the "German group of the International Chamber of Commerce"

Bassler, Dr. Hilmar

before 1945: legation counsellor, responsible for nazi propaganda in East Asia (department P VIII), confidential agent of the Gestapo and SD, member of the SA and NSDAP

after 1945: head of the East-Asia section in the Eastern Department

today: ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Federal Republic in Djakarta

Becker, Dr. Horst-Jürgen

before 1945: head of section in the Cultural Department of the Foreign Office

¹⁾ Cf. list of Civil Service grades at the end of this volume.

after 1945: consul first class in the consulate general in Johannesburg
since December 1968, legation counsellor 1st class in The Hague

Berger, Norbert

before 1945: served in the judiciary
today: Ministerialdirigent, head of subdepartment III B of the Foreign Office

Betz, Eugen

before 1945: until 1945 vice-consul in Shanghai, China
1938: NSDAP
today: consul general of the Federal Republic in Chicago

Blankenhorn, Herbert

before 1945: at the nazi legation in Bern (1943), head of section in the Foreign Office, Political Department, legation counsellor
1936: NSDAP (6977147)
after 1945: ambassador in Rome and Paris, since 1965 ambassador of the Federal Republic in London

Bock, Hans

before 1945: broadcasting producer in the Goebbels Reich Radio Broadcasting Company
after 1945: participated in the "Advanced Study Program" in the USA
today: reporting legation counsellor first class in the Foreign Office

Böthling, Dr. Horst

before 1945: 1939–1945 at the fascist embassy in China, vice-consul
member of the NSDAP
today: ambassador of the Federal Republic in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

Böthling, Hans

before 1945: in the Personnel Department of the Foreign Office
today: head of the consulate of the Federal Republic in Graz, Austria

Boldt, Hans

before 1945: served in the judiciary
today: legation counsellor in the Foreign Office

Bormann, Dr. Hans-Heinrich

before 1945: legation counsellor in the Press Department of the Foreign Office
1933: SA-Oberscharführer
1937: NSDAP
today: consul first class of the Federal Republic in Bergen, Norway

Borries, Dr. Werner von

before 1945: Regierungsrat in the Reich Economics Ministry's currency administration office
1933: NSDAP (162212), Blockleiter¹⁾
today: consul first class and head of the consulate of the Federal Republic in Naples, Italy

Braun, Baron Sigismund von

before 1945: vice-consul in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, thereafter nazi diplomat at the Vatican
after 1945: ambassador to the United Nations in New York, chief of protocol in the Foreign Office, since 1968 ambassador of the Federal Republic in Paris, France

Breer, Dr. Franz

before 1945: until the attack on the USSR legation counsellor at the fascist embassy in Moscow, USSR
today: consul-general of the Federal Republic in Zurich, Switzerland

Breuer, Dr. Richard

before 1945: Press Department of the Foreign Office, legation secretary in Tokyo, Japan
1938: NSDAP (6095662)
today: envoy of the Federal Republic in Tokyo, Japan

Briest, Eckardt

before 1945: until 1943 legation secretary in Informationsstelle III of the Foreign Office
1933: NSDAP
today: ambassador of the Federal Republic to Uruguay

Brückmann, Dr. Werner

before 1945: judge at the provincial court in Hamburg
1940: NSDAP
today: consul general of the Federal Republic in Sydney, Australia

¹⁾ nazi party warden in charge of a block of flats.

Brückner, Dr. Hardo
before 1945: 1940 Regierungsrat in the Reich Finance Ministry
1938: NSDAP
today: head of the trade representation of the Federal Republic in Budapest, Hungary

Buddenbrock, Baron Jobst von
before 1945: member of the SS
1933: NSDAP
today: counsellor first class in the embassy of the Federal Republic in Washington

Burchard, Dr. Otto
before 1945: free-lance worker, officer in Hitler's Wehrmacht
1933: NSDAP (1992554)
member of the National Socialist Jurists' Association
today: counsellor first class in the embassy of the Federal Republic in Pretoria, South Africa

Curtius, Klaus
before 1945: in the Economic Department of the Foreign Office
today: consul general of the Federal Republic in New York

Denzer, Dr. Wilhelm Otto
before 1945: staff-member of the Commercial Department of the Foreign Office
member of the German consulate in San Francisco in 1940, member of the nazi secret service
today: consul first class, head of the consulate of the Federal Republic in Houston, USA

Deubner, Dr. Otfried
before 1945: member of the staff of the Foreign Office (1943)
today: consul first class of the Federal Republic in Bern, Switzerland

Diehl, Günther
before 1945: member of the staff of the Political Broadcasting Department in the Foreign Office
after 1945: chief of the planning group of the Foreign Office (1966–67)
since 1968: state secretary and head of the Federal Press and Information Office

Döring, Dr. Karl
before 1945: member of the "Hohenfier" alumni association, SS-Obersturmführer
took part in the attacks on Greece and the Soviet Union
worked in the Reinhard Heydrich Foundation in Prague
today: reporting legation counsellor in the Foreign Office

Duckwitz, Georg Ferdinand
before 1945: shipping agent in Copenhagen
agent of Informationsstelle III, member of the staff of the foreign political office of the NSDAP (APA)
1933: NSDAP
today: state secretary in the Foreign Office

Dumke, Horst
before 1945: participated in the attacks on Poland, France, Yugoslavia, and the Soviet Union
1933: SS
1937: NSDAP
after 1945: legation counsellor first class in the Bonn Foreign Office
today: head of Department II in the Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation

Dziembowski, Constantin von
before 1945: 1940 Regierungsrat
1933: NSDAP (3526600)
today: reporting legation counsellor first class in the Foreign Office

Federer, Dr. Georg
before 1945: until the beginning of the war legation counsellor in the German embassy in London, active in section Pol IM of the Political Department of the Foreign Office, legation counsellor at the legation in Bern, Switzerland
today: chief personnel officer and Ministerialdirektor in the Foreign Office

Ferring, Dr. Franz
before 1945: active in the Political Broadcasting Department of the Foreign Office
responsible section chief for propaganda in East Asia (Ru VIII)
today: Bonn's ambassador in Seoul, South Korea

Fischer-Lossainen, Dr. Reinhold
before 1945: Kammergerichtsreferendar (junior barrister at a superior court)
today: consul general of the Federal Republic in Liège, Belgium

Friese, Dr. Curt
before 1945: studied at the Deutsches Auslandswissenschaftliches Institut (DAWI) under Six
today: consul first class, head of the consulate of the Federal Republic in Liverpool

Gaerte, Dr. Felix
before 1945: SS-Untersturmführer, member of SS battalion 1/80, worked in the Reich Main Security Office and later in the SS Main Race and Settlement Office
1937: NSDAP (4910278)
today: consul general of the Federal Republic in Melbourne, Australia

Galinsky, Wolfgang
before 1945: legation secretary in Tokyo, Japan
1933: SA
today: consul general of the Federal Republic in Osaka/Kobe, Japan

Gellbach, Dr. Horst-Heinrich
before 1945: Regierungsrat in the fascist state apparatus
1942: NSDAP (8284777)
today: reporting legation counsellor first class, in the Bonn Foreign Office

Gnodtke, Dr. Günther
before 1945: took part in the implementation of the racial laws in the fascist state apparatus in 1937
1933: SA
after 1945: ambassador to Nigeria
since 1968: envoy at NATO

Goetz und Schwanenfliess, Karl-Jörg von
before 1945: nazi jurist, member of the SA
today: consul general of the Federal Republic in Johannesburg, South Africa

Grewe, Professor Dr. Wilhelm
before 1945: specialist in constitutional and administrative law, lecturer at the College of Politics and at the Faculty of Foreign

Studies of Berlin University, regular employee of the Foreign Office. Made contributions to the monthly *Auswärtige Politik*, and was active in Paris on special orders of the Foreign Office

1933: NSDAP (3125858)
after 1945: head of the Legal Department, Ministerialdirektor, ambassador in Washington
today: ambassador to NATO

Groepper, Horst
before 1945: at the embassy in Moscow (1941) until the end of the war head of group II in the Protocol Department of the Foreign Office (legation counsellor)
1933: NSDAP
after 1945: ambassador in Moscow and Ankara
since 1968: Ministerialdirektor, head of the Legal Department in the Bonn Foreign Office

Halter, Dr. Hans-Christian
before 1945: worked in the bureau of the Reich Foreign Minister, and in the Information and Legal Departments
1937: NSDAP (5878697)
today: counsellor first class at the embassy of the Federal Republic in Argentina

Hardenberg, Count Dr. Hans-Carl von
before 1945: Regierungsrat in the Reich Economics Ministry (1941)
1937: NSDAP (4377465)
SA-Rottenführer
after 1945: head of a state secretary's office, Ministerialdirigent in the Foreign Office
since 1968: ambassador of the Federal Republic at the OECD in Paris

Harkort, Dr. Günter
before 1945: section head in the fascist Reich Economics Ministry
after 1945: Ministerialdirektor, head of department II in the Foreign Office (trade and development policy)
since 1969: state secretary in the Foreign Office

Hartlieb, Dr. Wilhelm Walter
before 1945: Regierungsrat with the representative for the four-year plan
1933: NSDAP (1825780)
today: consul general in Nancy, France

Hauthal, Dr. Horst von

before 1945: 1939 responsible for scientific work in a special authority of the Foreign Office, afterwards in the Foreign Office

1937: NSDAP (5062619)

today: reporting legation counsellor in the Foreign Office

Hecker, Dr. Gottfried

before 1945: active in the Personnel Department, later in the Legal Department of the Foreign Office,

today: reporting legation counsellor first class in the Legal Department of the Bonn Foreign Office

Heipertz, Otto Erich

before 1945: in the Reich Aviation Ministry (branch Peenemünde-West, Rechlin), then Regierungsrat with the representative for the four-year plan, member of the SA

after 1945: Ministerialdirigent in the Foreign Office
today: head of the trade representation of the Federal Republic in Prague, Czechoslovakia

Henschel, Reinhardt

before 1945: 1943–1944 in the fascist legation in Ankara, Turkey

1937: NSDAP (3286190)

after 1945: legation counsellor first class in the Bonn Foreign Office

since 1968: counsellor of the West German embassy to UNESCO in Paris

Hermann, Heinz

before 1945: served in the fascist judiciary

today: head of the trade representation of the Federal Republic in Sofia, Bulgaria

Herwarth von Bittenfeld, Dr. Hans Heinrich

before 1945: until 1941 legation counsellor in the German embassy in Moscow, USSR, afterwards active in the occupied Eastern areas, took part in forming the ill-famed Vlassow army

after 1945: Bonn's ambassador in London,

1956: ambassador in Rome, Italy

1963: state secretary in the Federal Chancellory

today: head of a committee of the Foreign Office

Heyden, Wilhelm Hermann Günther Detlef von

before 1945: 1943–44 legation counsellor in the Protocol Department of the fascist Foreign Office

1934: NSDAP

after 1945: reporting legation counsellor first class, in the Bonn Foreign Office

since 1968: consul general of the Federal Republic in Hongkong

Hoffmann, Wilhelm

before 1945: attended the indoctrination school of the Hitler Youth

1938: NSDAP (6979642), Blockleiter (party warden)

today: reporting legation counsellor, first class in the Bonn Foreign Office

Holleben, Ehrenfried von

before 1945: nazi jurist, finally public prosecutor in Potsdam

1933: SA

1937: NSDAP (5314946), Blockleiter (party warden)

after 1945: reporting legation counsellor, deputy head of the Protocol Department in the Bonn Foreign Office

today: ambassador of the Federal Republic in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

Houwald, Baron Götz-Dieter von

before 1945: served in the fascist judiciary

today: ambassador of the Federal Republic in Managua, Nicaragua

Jaeschke, Dr. Hans Wolf

before 1945: judge at the district court in Hamburg

1937: NSDAP (4486534), SA

today: counsellor first class in the embassy of the Federal Republic to the Vatican, Rome

Jacob, Dr. Erich

before 1945: from 1940 under Kiesinger in the Political Broadcasting Department of the Foreign Office in 1944 head of the "Far East" section in the Political Department of the Foreign Office

today: consul in the consulate general of the Federal Republic in Osaka/Kobe, Japan

Jirka, Dr. Ernst

before 1945: worked in the office of the "Reich plenipotentiary for Italy", in 1945 in the Milan office

1938: applied for membership in the NSDAP
today: counsellor in the embassy of the Federal Republic in Tokyo

Kameke, Karl August von

before 1945: served in the fascist judiciary
today: reporting legation counsellor in the Foreign Office

Kassler, Dr. Rolf

before 1945: legation counsellor in Copenhagen, Denmark
official in charge of nationality affairs, took part in the recruitment of volunteers for the Waffen-SS
1933: NSDAP (2260906)
today: embassy counsellor first class

Keller, Dr. Rupprecht von

before 1945: worked in section Pol IM of Deputy Secretary of State Woermann, a confidant of Ribbentrop
1933: SA-Scharführer
1940: NSDAP (8012248), agent of the German intelligence service
after 1945: 1948 secretary of the Two-Zone-IG-Farben Decartelization Committee
West German observer at the European office of the United Nations in Geneva, 1964 ambassador
today: consul general in Geneva, Switzerland

Kempff, Günther

before 1945: worked in the Protocol Department of the Foreign Office
today: head of the Federal Republic's trade representation in Helsinki, Finland

Kiderlen, Hans Rolf

before 1945: section head in the Reich Economics Ministry, in 1944 Oberregierungsrat in the office of the representative for the four-year plan (Göring)
1937: NSDAP (4358675), SA, Marine-SA battalion 32/77
after 1945: consul general in Los Angeles, USA
today: reporting legation counsellor first class in the Bonn Foreign Office

Klewitz, Wilhelm von

before 1945: served in the fascist judiciary
after 1945: head of the consulate general in Zagreb, Yugoslavia
since March 1968: counsellor in the embassy of the Federal Republic in Copenhagen, Denmark

Klingeberg, Werner

before 1945: NSDAP (425213)
after 1945: staff member of the Cultural Department
today: ambassador of the Federal Republic in Libreville, Gabon

Knatz, Dr. Thomas

before 1945: worked in the Chamber of Commerce in London
after 1945: legation counsellor first class in the consulate general in New York
since October 1968: counsellor in the embassy of the Federal Republic in London

Kopf, Dr. Wilhelm

before 1945: press attaché at the embassy in Ankara, Turkey
after 1945: ambassador in Saigon
today: in the Bonn Foreign Office

Köster, Hans

before 1945: SS-Obersturmführer (114214)
agent of fascist SS-reconnaissance, trained agents in the field of communications, member of the "Lebensborn" organization¹⁾
NSDAP (3501160)
today: collaborator in the embassy of the Federal Republic in Madrid, Spain

Köster, Kajus

before 1945: co-worker of Kiesinger in the Political Broadcasting Department of the Foreign Office
later personal assistant of SS-Oberführer Rühle
today: ambassador of the Federal Republic to Panama

¹⁾ At this "human breeding centre" specially selected SS men and nazi girls were to bring forth a "racially superior" generation meant to populate the conquered territories.

Kothny, Dr. Erwin

before 1945: during the war under the authority of the "Reich commissioner for the Sudeten German areas"

1938: NSDAP, before Sudeten German party

after 1945: consul general in Nancy, France

today: consul general of the Federal Republic in Valparaiso, Chile

Krapf, Franz

before 1945: SS-Untersturmführer (102283)

staff member of the Japanese branch of the *Reichsbahnwerbezentrale* (foreign branch of the Security Service-SD), legation secretary in the embassy in Tokyo, Japan, worked in Office III of the Reich Main Security Office

1936: NSDAP (3726653)

after 1945: Ministerialdirektor and head of the Eastern Department in the Bonn Foreign Office

since 1966: ambassador of the Federal Republic in Tokyo, Japan

Krebs, Dr. Kurt

before 1945: worked for the "Special Commissioner for Economic Questions" in Rumania, took part in the economic looting of the country

today: staff member of the embassy of the Federal Republic in Paris, France

Krier, Dr. Hubert

before 1945: section head in the Main Trustee Office (HTO), in which capacity he took part in the looting of Polish property

today: ambassador of the Federal Republic in Asuncion, Paraguay

Krumdieck, Oskar

before 1945: consul in the fascist consulate in Santa Blanca

after 1945: consul in the Bonn consulate in Peru

since 1966: consul in the consulate of the Federal Republic in San Ramon

Kuhle, Dr. Herbert

before 1945: scientific expert in the Legal Department of the Foreign Office (1943-1944)

after 1945: consul of the Federal Republic in Kansas City, USA (1964)

today: legation counsellor first class in the Bonn Foreign Office

Kutscher, Dr. Ernst

before 1945: worked in *Informationsstelle XIV* (anti-Jewish action) in 1944, present at the Krummhübel Conference, took part in the Prisoner-of-War Service (Nuremberg Trial, XI 488)

1933: NSDAP

after 1945: counsellor in the embassy in Paris (1962) reporting legation counsellor first class in the Foreign Office

today: counsellor first class in the embassy of the Federal Republic in Buenos Aires, Argentina

Lahr, Rolf

before 1945: section head and Regierungsrat in the Reich Economics Ministry, in between, member of the management of the Reich industry group

1933: NSDAP (2637673), SA-Rottenführer

after 1945: worked in the Federal Economics Ministry from 1949 to 1953, in 1961 state secretary in the Bonn Foreign Office

since 1969: ambassador of the Federal Republic to Italy

Lanwer, Dr. Ewald

before 1945: consul in Kattowitz (Katowice) in 1939 consul in Aabenraa, Denmark subordinate to the "Deutschland" department as official in charge of nationality affairs, responsible for recruitment campaigns in support of the Waffen SS and of spying on Danish patriots

1933: NSDAP

after 1945: section head in the Department for Development Policy (1963)

since 1966: embassy counsellor first class in the West German representation at the OECD in Paris

Lehr, Bruno

before 1945: section head in the Reich Aviation Ministry SS-Rottenführer

1941: NSDAP (8739967)

today: legation counsellor first class in the Federal Republic's embassy in Tokyo, Japan

Lerchenfeld, Count Dr. Johannes von

before 1945: confidant of IG-Farben in Berlin, Paris and Sofia

today: trade counsellor in the embassy of the Federal Republic in Rome, Italy

Lilienfeld, Dr. Georg von

before 1945: head of the America section (Ru IX) in the Political Broadcasting Department of the Foreign Office head of the radio section with the "Plenipotentiary of the Greater German Reich" in Italy
SS-Untersturmführer (1943)
after 1945: envoy to the USA
today: ambassador of the Federal Republic in Teheran, Iran

Lucius, Reinhart von

before 1945: managing director of the Deutsche Sprengchemie-AG
1933: member of the SA
today: consul first class in the consulate of the Federal Republic in Cape Town, South Africa

Luedde-Neurath, Kurt

before 1945: legation secretary in the embassy in Tokyo, Japan
SA-Sturmführer
1943: war service cross, 2nd class
1938: NSDAP (4745122)
after 1945: reporting legation counsellor in the Foreign Office
since 1968: ambassador of the Federal Republic in Wellington, New Zealand

Lüders, Dr. Carl-Heinz

before 1945: nazi jurist, judge in the superior provincial court in Hamburg, national-socialist propagandist
today: ambassador of the Federal Republic to Luxembourg

Maenss, Hans Ivar

before 1945: legation secretary in the Foreign Office
1939: NSDAP (7025237), member of the SA
today: Referatsleiter in the personnel department, Vortragender Legationsrat, first class, and head of the Diplomat's School

Mangold, Dr. Hans-Joachim

before 1945: military administration counsellor of the occupation regime in Paris, France
Regierungsrat in the Reich Economics Ministry (1941)
1933: NSDAP (2307799)
today: embassy counsellor first class of the Federal Republic in Geneva, Switzerland

Marmann, Hans

before 1945: public prosecutor in the Berlin provincial court, took part in "high-treason trials"
after 1945: consul general in Bonn's consulate general in New Orleans
since 1966: counsellor first class at the embassy of the Federal Republic in Ankara, Turkey

Michelsen, Dr. Harald

before 1945: nazi students' league
SA battalion 21/128 Danzig (Gdansk)
today: reporting legation counsellor first class in the Foreign Office

Mirbach, Baron Dietrich von

before 1945: personal assistant of State Secretary Steengracht in the Foreign Office
1933: NSDAP
after 1945: ambassador-at-large in the Bonn Foreign Office, ambassador to Indonesia
since June 1965: ambassador of the Federal Republic to India

Mirow, Eduard

before 1945: liaison man of the "staff of the Plenipotentiary for the Arab Countries" (Grobba staff), member of the special staff of General Felmy (1942), vice-consul in Zurich, (1945)
1931: NSDAP (549764)
after 1945: legation counsellor first class in the embassy in Baghdad
since 1967: reporting legation Counsellor first class in the Bonn Foreign Office

Mohr, Dr. Ernst Günther

before 1945: legation counsellor in The Hague, Holland, shared responsibility for the introduction of deportations of Jews in 1940-1941
consul in Tangier, Morocco, member of the fascist intelligence service in the Foreign Office, legation counsellor 1st class, head of special section Pol IM (1945)
1935: NSDAP (3500174)
after 1945: ambassador to Bolivia and Switzerland
since 1965: ambassador of the Federal Republic in Buenos Aires, Argentina

Moltmann, Dr. Gerhard

before 1945: legation secretary in Belgrade
1943-44 at the fascist legation in Bern, Switzerland NSDAP (7005175)

today: ambassador of the Federal Republic in Kabul, Afghanistan

Motz, Dr. Günter

before 1945: Regierungsrat in the fascist Reich Ministry of the Interior

1943 worked with the Reich governor for the Sudetengau

after 1945: ambassador to Bolivia

since 1967: reporting legation counsellor in the Bonn Foreign Office

Mühlen, Ewald

before 1945: official of the NSDAP

head of the NSDAP group in Denmark, on assignment of the Foreign Office in Denmark

1940–1942: member of the Political Broadcasting Department (section VI)

after 1945: in the Bonn representation in Brussels in 1953

today: counsellor first class in the embassy of the Federal Republic in Paris, France

Mühlenhöver, Dr. Josef

before 1945: worked in the Legal Department of the fascist Foreign Ministry (1944)

today: counsellor first class in the embassy of the Federal Republic in Vienna, Austria

Müllenheim-Rechberg, Baron Burkhard von

before 1945: lieutenant and assistant of the naval attaché at the embassy in London

today: consul general of the Federal Republic in Toronto, Canada

Müller-Roschach, Dr. Herbert

before 1945: Müller, Herbert

legation secretary in the "Deutschland" department, section D III ("Jewish affairs") of the Foreign Office (1941–1942)

after 1945: 1951 section head in the Commercial Department of the Bonn Foreign Office 1957–60 deputy head of Department West I

1962 head of Department West II

1963 Ministerialdirektor, head of the planning group of the Foreign Office

1966 ambassador in Lisbon, Portugal

today: ambassador-at-large of the Foreign Office

Northe, Dr. Dr. Heinrich

before 1945: 1939–1941, legation counsellor in the offices of the embassy in China: Peking, Shanghai, Tientsin, and Chungking, then representative of the Foreign Office in Saigon (Japanese-occupied part of former French Indo-China)

1935: NSDAP (3504851)

mediator of the NSDAP group in China

after 1945: 1951 in the Foreign Office responsible for the Far East section

1967: ambassador of the Federal Republic to the Council of Europe in Strasbourg, France

Nostitz, Dr. Siegfried von

before 1945: worked in the Legal (section VI) and Personnel Departments of the Foreign Office

legation counsellor of nazi Germany in Bern, Switzerland (1943)

1933: NSDAP

today: consul general of the Federal Republic in San Francisco, USA

Nüsslein, Dr. Franz

before 1945: took part in pronouncing terror and death sentences as senior public prosecutor in Prague, Czechoslovakia
convicted war criminal

1937: NSDAP (4628997)

today: consul general of the Federal Republic in Barcelona, Spain

Obermaier, Franz

before 1945: agent of the Reich Main Security Office in Italy, 1937 in Czechoslovakia, 1939 in Belgium, 1941 in Milan

1940 press attaché in Sofia, Bulgaria

since 1968: ambassador of the Federal Republic in Bujumbura, Burundi

Oidtman, Christoph von

before 1945: served in the fascist judiciary, 1942 public prosecutor

after 1945: consul first class in the consulate general in Basle, Switzerland

since 1967: reporting legation counsellor in the Foreign Office

Ostermann von Roth, Ernst Ludwig

before 1945: representative of the fascist Foreign Office (VAA) of Tank Command 2/Centre,

then legation counsellor in the nazi legation in Lisbon, Portugal

1937: NSDAP (3810743), SS (156496)

after 1945: 1950 Foreign Office

since 1964: ambassador of the Federal Republic to Colombia

Overbeck, Karl Kuno

before 1945: legation secretary in section Pol IM of the Foreign Office

1944 legation counsellor in the legation in Budapest, Hungary
member of the SA

today: Ministerialdirigent, deputy head of the Cultural Department

Pappenheim, Count Georg von

before 1945: in section Pol IM of the Foreign Office, before in the consulate-general in Tangier (1942)

1936: NSDAP

today: ambassador of the Federal Republic to Ecuador

Pauls, Dr. Rolf

before 1945: Major, G.S.O., in the fascist Wehrmacht bearer of the Knight's Cross

after 1945: Ministerialdirigent, ambassador in Tel Aviv, Israel

since 1969: ambassador of the Federal Republic in Washington, USA

Pfisterer, Dr. Friedrich

before 1945: in the Commercial Department of the Foreign Office

1942 vice-consul in the legation in Stockholm

1941 NSDAP (7860975)

member of the SS

today: reporting legation counsellor, section head in department Z

Pirch, Dr. Georg von

before 1945: worked in the Foreign Office

1933 SA, 1934 SS-Anwärter

today: consul-general of the Federal Republic in Detroit, USA

Podewilz-Dürnis, Count Max von

before 1945: officer in the Hitler Wehrmacht

today: legation counsellor first class in the Bonn Foreign Office

Posadowsky-Wehner, Count Dr. Harald von

before 1945: from IG-Farben went to the section for economic questions in Göring's Reich Aviation Ministry

after 1945: 1952 Foreign Office

1960 ambassador in Lagos

today: reporting legation counsellor first class in department I of the Bonn Foreign Office

Prill, Dr. Felician

before 1945: 1940–41 Regierungsrat in Magdeburg

today: ambassador of the Federal Republic in Dublin, Ireland

Puttkammer, Professor Dr. Ellinor von

before 1945: assistant in the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute of Foreign Public Law and International Law in Berlin

after 1945: reporting legation counsellor first class, in the Bonn Foreign Office

today: ambassador of the Federal Republic at the Council of Europe in Strasbourg, France

Ramelow, Thomas

before 1945: worked for the Foreign Office in Marseilles, Caracas, and Barranquilla

today: ambassador of the Federal Republic in Tananarive, Madagascar and Port Louis, Mauritius

Randow, Elgar von

before 1945: until 1945 legation counsellor in China, was responsible for the central management of fascist propaganda, information and espionage activities, awarded the war service cross, 2nd class, with swords

1925: NSDAP (5189)

today: consul general of the Federal Republic in Calcutta, India

Richthofen, Baron Professor Oswald von

before 1945: legation counsellor in the nazi legation in Budapest

1932: NSDAP (1440443), 1938 SS

after 1945: ambassador in Khartoum, Sudan (1964)

since 1967: ambassador of the Federal Republic to Singapore

Ritter, Dr. Joachim-Friedrich
before 1945: nazi jurist, lawyer at provincial courts I and II in Munich
today: ambassador of the Federal Republic in Ottawa, Canada

Roedel, Dr. Gerhard W. E.
before 1945: Obersturmführer in the nazi air corps, Regierungsrat in the Reich Ministry of Nutrition and Agriculture
1933: NSDAP
today: consul general of the Federal Republic in New Orleans, USA

Röhreke, Dr. Heinrich
before 1945: head of the nazi consulate in Hankow, China, favoured the camouflaged continuation of the NSDAP within the framework of the "German Office" in China
1937: NSDAP and SA
after 1945: 1963, reporting legation counsellor in the Foreign Office
since 1967: ambassador of the Federal Republic in Manila, Philippines

Rom, Dr. Horst von
before 1945: employed in the fascist judiciary
after 1945: ambassador in Bamako, Mali
since 1968: ambassador of the Federal Republic in Saigon

Rumohr, Friedrich Karl von
before 1945: 1936–1944 in the fascist Wehrmacht
today: at the embassy of the Federal Republic in Lima, Peru

Ruoff, Dr. Herbert
before 1945: staff member of the Legal Department of the Foreign Office (section R XIII A), cooperated with the SD (security service), 30 January 1942 SS-Obersturmführer
after 1945: reporting legation counsellor first class in the Bonn Foreign Office
since 1968: counsellor in the embassy of the Federal Republic in Canberra, Australia

Sachs, Dr. Hans-Georg
before 1945: legation secretary in the Foreign Office, then at the "Office of the Reich plenipotentiary for Italy" in Rome
after 1945: Ministerialdirektor in the Foreign Office

today: ambassador of the Federal Republic to the EEC

Sahm, Dr. Ulrich
before 1945: served in the fascist judiciary in a work "1866 and 1938" glorified the annexation of Austria as a "logical result" and "expression of the will of the Austrian people"
today: embassy counsellor first class in Bonn's representation in NATO

Sante, Dr. Hans Heinrich
before 1945: Regierungsrat in the Reich Economics Ministry, war administration counsellor in the Wehrmacht, war service cross 2nd class with swords
1937: NSDAP (5183899)
after 1945: 1958 embassy counsellor first class
1959 reporting legation counsellor first class Commercial Department
since 1968: consul general of the Federal Republic in Boston, USA

Sarrazin, Dr. Wilfried
before 1945: worked for Röchlingsche Eisen- und Stahlwerke in Völklingen
SA battalion 1/19
today: ambassador of the Federal Republic in Kampala, Uganda

Sasse, Dr. Heinz-Günther
before 1945: evaluated stolen files in the Foreign Office (Special Commando Künsberg) scientific expert of the *Zentralstelle für Erforschung der Kriegsursachen* (Central office for research on the causes of war) in 1936
today: reporting legation counsellor first class, deputy head of the office of the Foreign Office in West Berlin

Scheel, Detlev
before 1945: worked in the Treuhand- und Einziehungsstelle GmbH, Kiel
1933: SA
today: envoy in the embassy of the Federal Republic in Madrid, Spain

Scheske, Dr. Ulrich
before 1945: Regierungsreferendar in the fascist state apparatus, officer of the Hitler Wehrmacht

1933: SS (216977)
after 1945: reporting legation counsellor first class in Department West II of the Bonn Foreign Office
since 1967: ambassador of the Federal Republic in Bangkok, Thailand

Schilling, Dr. Karl

before 1945: Regierungsrat in the Foreign Office
1937: SA
today: legation counsellor first class in the Bonn Foreign Office

Schirmer, Dr. Hans

before 1945: until 1935 Gauhauptstellenleiter of the foreign organization of the NSDAP in London
1935–1939 worked in the Propaganda Ministry under Goebbels, from 1939 in the Foreign Office
1940–1942 deputy head of the Political Broadcasting Department, one of the most responsible persons for the foundation and extension of the secret station network of the espionage service
after 1945: 1962 reporting legation counsellor first class in the Eastern Department of the Foreign Office
since 1968: ambassador of the Federal Republic in Canberra, Australia

Schlegelberger, Dr. Günther

before 1945: 1936–1940 "trips to foreign countries" from 1940 in the Cultural Department of the nazi Foreign Ministry
after 1945: counsellor first class in the embassy in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
since 1968: in Bern, Switzerland

Schlitter, Dr. Oskar

before 1945: worked in the Political Department of the Foreign Office, actively participated in the nazi occupation policy against Denmark, France and Italy, legation counsellor first class
1934: NSDAP (3591227)
after 1945: 1952 counsellor at the embassy in Madrid, Spain 1958, head of the section for "trade relations with EEC countries"
1962 Ministerialdirigent
since 1965: ambassador of the Federal Republic in Athens, Greece

Schmidt-Dumont, Dr. Franz Johannes

before 1945: employee of IG-Farben, National Economy Department II and *Dienststelle Krauch*
today: in the embassy of the Federal Republic in Teheran, Iran

Schmidt-Horix, Dr. Hans Dietrich

before 1945: 1935–1941 legation secretary in Paris, Lisbon, and Washington
then with the "plenipotentiary of the Reich for Italy" in Fasano, Italy
SS (254045)
after 1945: ambassador to Iraq
ambassador-at-large in Bonn
today: ambassador of the Federal Republic in Lisbon, Portugal

Schmidt-Pauli, Dr. Edgar von

before 1945: served in the fascist judiciary
doctor of law and junior barrister in Berlin
since 1968: envoy of the Federal Republic at the office of the observer of the Federal Republic at the United Nations

Scholl, Dr. Günther

before 1945: worked in the Legal Department of the Foreign Office, section R. IVc, dealt with question of military law, in particular, with prisoner of war problems
today: ambassador of the Federal Republic in Rawalpindi, Pakistan

Schulte Strathaus, Ludwig

before 1945: nazi writer, was correspondent of *Der Kampf*,
NSDAP (4563489)
today: counsellor first class in the embassy of the Federal Republic at UNESCO in Paris

Schultz, Hans-Henning von

before 1945: officer in the fascist navy
today: commander
naval and air force attaché of the embassy of the Federal Republic in The Hague, Netherlands

Schumann, Dr. Wolfgang

before 1945: worked in military district administration IX in Kassel
1933: NSDAP (2286411)
SA battalion 1/83

today: staff member of the embassy of the Federal Republic in Rangoon, Burma

Schünke, Dr. Lothar

before 1945: Served in the judiciary, belonged to an air-force commando in Königsberg

today: legation counsellor first class in the embassy of the Federal Republic in Mexiko

Schwalbe, Dr. Hans

before 1945: during the war German lecturer in Matsue, Japan

today: staff member in the embassy of the Federal Republic in Tokyo, Japan

Schwarzmann, Dr. Hans

before 1945: worked in the Commercial Department 1940–1941 in the Ribbentrop bureau 1944 legation counsellor as French expert in the Political Department, cooperated closely with the espionage and counter-intelligence apparatus of the Wehrmacht High Command and the Security Service

1933: NSDAP (3151913)

after 1945: head of the West Berlin Office of the Foreign Office

since 1966: ambassador and head of the Protocol Department

Schweinitz, Dr. Hans Ulrich von

before 1945: member of the Political Department of the Foreign Office (Pol III)

1939: worked in Kattowitz and Prague

1941: vice-consul in Iskenderum, Turkey

1933: NSDAP

after 1945: ambassador to Thailand

since 1967: ambassador of the Federal Republic in Nairobi, Kenya

Schwörbel, Dr. Herbert

before 1945: press attaché with the "Reich plenipotentiary for Greece" and in the office of the Foreign Office for Greece, Serbia, Montenegro and Albania (1945)

after 1945: West German ambassador to Ceylon

today: reporting legation counsellor first class in the Foreign Office

Seeliger, Wolfgang

before 1945: Regierungsrat in the Reich Economics Ministry

1933: NSDAP (1643424)

member of the SA

today: reporting legation counsellor first class in the Foreign Office, head of the section for "economic relations with South and East Asia"

Seldis, Dr. Werner

before 1945: active in banking and trusteeship affairs

after 1945: today ambassador of the Federal Republic in Freetown, Sierra Leone

Sieger, Alexander

before 1945: officer of the reserve, exemption from military service because of research work NSDAP, SA and nazi *Altherrenbund* (alumni association)

today: legation counsellor first class in the embassy of the Federal Republic in Ankara, Turkey

Siegesmund, Dr. Lothar

before 1945: nazi jurist

1933: NSDAP (2594804)

instructor in the National Socialist Motorists' Corps (NSKK), No. 21365

today: consul general of the Federal Republic in Salonica, Greece

Simonis, Dr. Susanne

before 1945: official of the NSDAP

until 1945 in fascist embassies in Tokyo, Japan and Nanking, China made radio speeches on life in war-torn Germany

after 1945: legation counsellor in the Cultural Department of the Foreign Office

since 1966: consul first class, head of the consulate of the Federal Republic in Vancouver, Canada

Soltmann, Dr. Otto

before 1945: active in the judiciary in Rostock and Ribnitz (judge in a district court)

after 1945: 1952 Bonn Foreign Office

today: reporting legation counsellor first class in the Foreign Office

Sonnenhol, Dr. Gustav-Adolf

before 1945: liaison man of the Foreign Office with the Reich Main Security Office, head of the Inland II B Section in the ill-famed

Inland Group II, 1930 SA. 1931 NSDAP (545961) SS-Untersturmführer, awarded the SS "death-head ring"
after 1945: Ministerialdirektor, head of Department I in the Federal Ministry of Economic Co-operation
today: ambassador of the Federal Republic to South Africa

Stackelberg, Baron Dr. Herbert von
before 1945: with the "Reich plenipotentiary for the occupied Norwegian areas"
1944 Regierungsrat and head of the Narvik branch
office of the "Reich commissioner in Oslo"
1932 SA-Obersturmführer
1933 NSDAP (2087769)
assessor of the party district court of Siegburg
after 1945: consul general in Nairobi
today: envoy of the Federal Republic in Washington

Steg, Dr. Rudolf
before 1945: staff member of the Ribbentrop office (May 1939 to September 1944), legation counsellor
1937: NSDAP
after 1945: reporting legation counsellor first class, head of Section IA/3
today: envoy of the Federal Republic in Rome, Italy

Steinbach, Hans-Joachim
before 1945: in the Foreign Service in Oslo, Shanghai, Canton, Chungking and Saigon
after 1945: 1952 Foreign Office
since 1968: embassy of the Federal Republic in Libreville, Gabon

Strenge, Hans von
before 1945: in Tanganyika
today: worked for several Bonn embassies, office in Dar es-Salaam

Strusch, Friedrich
before 1945: in New York and Montreal and in the fascist embassy in Rome, Italy
after 1945: consul first class in Windhoek, South West Africa,
since 1967 in Kansas City, USA

Tannstein, Dr. Kurt von
before 1945: in the fascist embassy at the Vatican
1933: NSDAP (2948420)
today: ambassador of the Federal Republic in Tunis, Tunisia

Thierfelder, Dr. Rudolf
before 1945: nazi jurist, first public prosecutor in the superior provincial court of Stuttgart
1937: NSDAP (5379520)
Blockleiter (party warden)
today: ambassador of the Federal Republic in Ankara, Turkey

Thomsen, Dr. Hennig
before 1945: nazi legation counsellor in Dublin and Oslo
military espionage
1938: NSDAP candidate member, member of the SS
today: ambassador of the Federal Republic in Reykjavik, Iceland

Ungern-Sternberg, Baron Dr. Reinhold von
before 1945: representative of the Foreign Office (VAA) at army high command 18, afterwards legation counsellor in Helsinki, Finland
1933: NSDAP (2594983)
SA battalion 32/2 Berlin
since 1968: ambassador of the Federal Republic in Brussels, Belgium

Wallroth, Dr. Hilde Maria
before 1945: scientific worker in the Foreign Office
today: counsellor in the embassy of the Federal Republic in Paris, France

Wehrstedt, Dr. Friedrich-Wilhelm
before 1945: Regierungsrat in the fascist state apparatus, as part of his activity in the central department IA in the Reich Finance Ministry he dealt with problems of the occupied areas
1933: NSDAP (2151075)
today: inspector of the Bonn Foreign Office for the diplomatic and consular representations abroad, ambassador

Weiss, Dr. Wolf Dietrich
before 1945: served in the fascist judiciary
SA, Blockwart of the nazi Relief Organization (NSV)

today: legation counsellor first class in the embassy of the Federal Republic in Lisbon, Portugal

Weiz, Dr. Gerhard

before 1945: in Bern, Buenos Aires, Montevideo and Ottawa,

1941 legation counsellor (until 1944)

1933 SA

applied to join the SS and Gestapo (1934)

1937: NSDAP

since 1967: consul general of the Federal Republic in Sao Paulo, Brazil

Wendland, Baron Jork Alexander von

before 1945: nazi legation secretary in Amsterdam, Brünn and Prague,

then in the consulate general in Batavia, until the end of the war in the legation in Bangkok, Thailand

1933: NSDAP (2948710)

today: ambassador of the Federal Republic in Dakar, Senegal and Nouakchott, Mauritania

Werz, Dr. Luitpold

before 1945: in the representations in Barcelona, Pretoria, Lourenco Marques, Mozambique, was expelled from the latter because of espionage

1944 consul in the Foreign Office

1934: NSDAP (2873248)

today: Ministerialdirektor, head of the Cultural Department

Wickert, Dr. Erwin

before 1945: member of the radio section of the Cultural Department (cooperated with Kie-singer), head of the radio department of the fascist embassy in China, then in Japan

after 1945: reporting legation counsellor first class in the Eastern Department of the Foreign Office

since 1968: envoy in the embassy of the Federal Republic in London

Wistinghausen, Rudolf von

before 1945: legation counsellor in the Cultural Department of the Foreign Office

today: ambassador of the Federal Republic in Lome, Togo

Wollenweber, Dr. Karl-Gustav

before 1945: staff member in the Personnel Department of the Foreign Office

legation counsellor in the embassy at the Vatican

1933: NSDAP (3020707)

today: ambassador of the Federal Republic in Valletta, Malta

Zapp, Dr. Karl-August

before 1945: staff member of the "Deutschland" section legation counsellor with the "Reich commissioner for the occupied Dutch areas"

head of a section in the Protocol Department of the Foreign Office

legation counsellor in Ankara, Turkey

1933: NSDAP (2715559)

after 1945: head of the United Nations section

since 1966: ambassador of the Federal Republic to Mexico

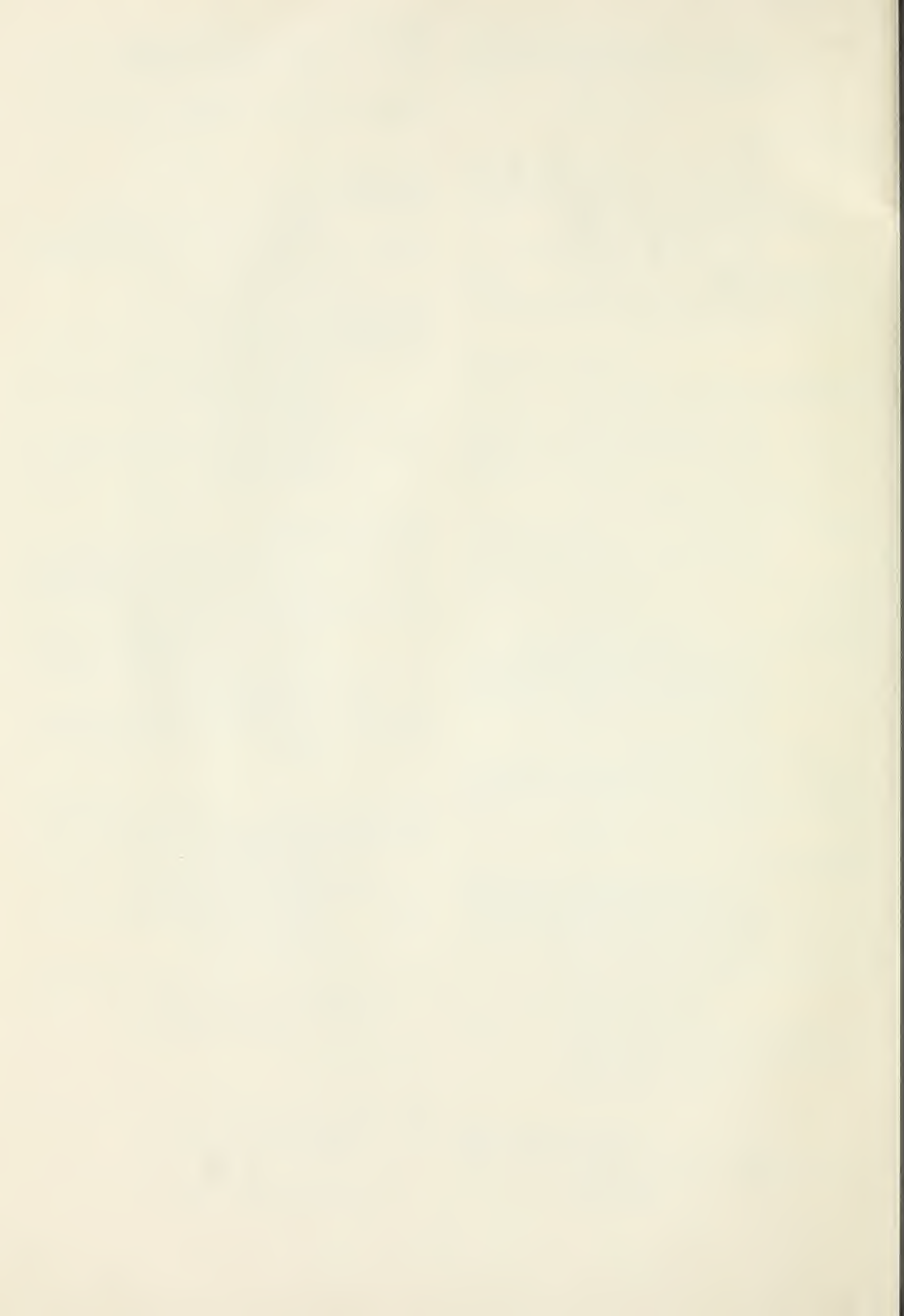
Zinsser, Dr. Christian

before 1945: nazi counsellor in Manchuria and Nan-king, China

1927: NSDAP (66421)

1928 SA-Sturmbannführer

today: consul first class of the Federal Republic in Porto, Portugal



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Appendix

Civil Service grades in Germany before 1945 and in the Federal Republic

Staatssekretär (state secretary)	Amtsrat
Oberpräsident	Regierungsoberinspektor
Ministerialdirektor	Regierungsinspektor
Regierungspräsident (administrative head of a province)	Obersekretär
Ministerialdirigent	Sekretär
Ministerialrat	Ministerialregistrator
Regierungsdirektor	Kanzleisekretär
Ministerialbürodirektor	Kanzleivorsteher
Oberregierungsrat	Verwaltungsassistent
Landrat (district president)	Kanzleiassistent
Regierungsrat	Amtsgehilfe

Ranks in the nazi Wehrmacht and in the SS

Wehrmacht (army)	Equiv. in Brit. Army	SS
Schütze	Private	SS-Mann
Gefreiter	Lance Corporal	Sturmmann
Obergefreiter	—	Rottenführer
Unteroffizier	Corporal	Unterscharführer
Unterfeldwebel	Lance Sergeant	Scharführer
Feldwebel	Sergeant	Standartenjunker
Oberfeldwebel	Staff Sergeant	Oberscharführer
Stabsfeldwebel	Warrant Officer cl. II	—
Oberstabsfeldwebel	Warrant Officer cl. I	Hauptscharführer
—	—	Standartenoberjunker
Leutnant	Second Lieutenant	Sturmscharführer
—	—	Untersturmführer
Oberleutnant	Lieutenant	Obersturmführer
Hauptmann	Captain	Hauptsturmführer
Major	Major	Sturmbannführer
Oberstleutnant	Lieutenant Colonel	Obersturmbannführer
Oberst	Colonel	Standartenführer
—	—	Oberführer
Generalmajor	Major General	Brigadeführer
Generalleutnant	Lieutenant General	Gruppenführer
General der . . .	General	Obergruppenführer
Generaloberst	—	Oberstgruppenführer



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CENTURY A COLLECTION OF
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World communism in the 20th
century.

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